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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

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RHODE HISTORICAL



ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XV January, 1922 No. 1

HOWARD W. PRESTON, President EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer GEORGE T. SPICER, Secretary HOWARD M. CHAPIN, Librarian

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay

BY EDMUND B. DELABARRE

IV. The Contributions of Newport and Middletown

There have been numerous rumors of the existence of inscribed rocks in the vicinity of Newport. Except for a few incisions that were not meant to convey any significance, and such others as have been made by white men within the last two hundred years, they still remain unverified and improbable rumors. Nevertheless, there are in the vicinity several examples of markings that are natural, accidental, or the incidental result of operations that had another purpose, and these may have led to misinterpretation as intended inscriptions. In any field of inquiry, knowledge is not complete until not only the true details, but also the false appearances that may simulate fact, are understood; and to a psychologist the latter have a positive and fascinating interest of their own. 39

It requires error outgrown as well as truth comprehended to make a universe. Consequently, it will not be a waste of effort for us to examine what this locality has to offer.

If there had been any genuine foundation for the rumors alluded to, it seems likely that Dr. Stiles must have heard of them, for he sought indefatigably for inscriptions on rocks. His notes, we may be sure, record every instance which was brought to his attention, and he would certainly have visited every one that he could discover and would have made drawings of it. In fact, he wrote in 1790: "I have made great inquiry these 20 years past for similar inscriptions to those of the Dighton Rock." Yet although he resided in Newport for twenty-one years, he gives no hint of there being any ancient records of the sort nearer than Portsmouth. He does, however, mention two that were made in 1728. Our own interest is principally in the older and more mysterious rock-carvings, rather than in these. Yet the fact that at least one white man followed the impulse to write upon such surfaces at so early a date is not without its bearing upon our interpretation of the more puzzling cases.

Stiles's descriptions are accompanied by sketch-maps showing the location of the rocks and by drawings of their appearance, and are found on pages 251 and 252 in the second volume of his manuscript "Itineraries." Both instances, without the maps and drawings, have been included in Professor Dexter's "Extracts from the Itineraries." The first drawing is of a rock measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, upon which is an inscription in capital letters reading: "1728.10.21. Beleve in Christ & Live in No Sin." The accompanying description is dated June 22, 1767, and says: "This is an Inscription which I took off a Rock on the Shore at Brenton's Point a little North of the Reef & at the SW. corner of Rhode Island, 5 miles SW. from Newport. It is supposed to have been put on by Rev^d Nathaniel Clap. I suppose the 10 21 under 1728 denotes 21^{st} day of 10th month, or Oct^r 21, 1728. M^r Clap died in New-

¹Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1917, xix. 96.

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port 1745 having Labored in the Ministry from 1695 or 50 years."

The other stone, 12 feet by 4, is shown lying above a rocky shore on a steep bank ten feet high from the water, at the northwest corner of Price's Cove. It bears the inscription: "8.21.1728. God Presarve All Mankind." Stiles remarks: "July 8. 1767. I viewed a Stone at price's Cove. The stone light grey & hard. The Inscription is daylay trodden upon by the passing fishermen. The figures 21 of 8 M° 1728 are done by seperate Dots. The Letters are done in the same manner as those at the Point above a Mile Westward. On another stone [shown near the first and measuring 8 by 12 feet] is a number of seeming Incisions of the Wedge or Runic Kind, but evidently the Work of Nature only." The two inscriptions are once more referred to by Stiles in 1774, when he writes: "Jahleel Brenton Esq. died Nov. 8, 1732, AEt. 77. . . . His father was Gov. Brenton. The words PRE-SARVE and BELEVE in the Inscriptions are so illy spelled, that I sometimes doubt whether Mr Clap was the Author. Perhaps Mr Brenton was."1

I looked for these rocks on July 11, 1920. One of them has been moved from its original location and now stands, with its inscription still clear and well preserved, close to the house of the large estate situated just where the "Shore Drive" makes its turn at Brenton's Point. The one at Price's Cove I failed to discover, either then or at a later visit. It may have been blasted out or covered over, for many changes have occurred at this place since Stiles's day. I did, however, see one or more rocks with the wedge-like marks which Stiles rightly attributed to the work of Nature only. His doubts concerning authorship founded upon Mr. Clap's poor spelling perhaps do not take changing fashions sufficiently into account, and cannot appeal to us as very decisive if we notice his own easy deviations from modern usage in this respect.

¹Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, 1916, pp. 230, 353.

His statement that one of the rocks was "daylay trodden upon by the passing fishermen" suggests that the motive for these pious exhortations may have been to call constant attention of such men to their spiritual welfare. It lies within the memory of many of us still living that not so very long ago numerous rocks for many miles around Providence had painted on them similar exhortations and scriptural verses, and that the author of them was a familiar sight upon our streets, wearing garments on which similar verses were painted, mutely urging his fellows to reflect upon their sins and to lead better lives.

The first indication that there might be in the neighborhood rocks with more ancient records is contained in the letter which Dr. Webb wrote to Professor Rafn of Denmark on October 31. 1835, in which he says that John Almy of Tiverton thought he had heard of an inscription-rock at Sachuest Point.1 There exists, however, no other allusion to the possibility that there might be one there. But on March 3, 1840, Dr. Christopher G. Perry of Newport reported to the Rhode Island Historical Society that he had discovered some rocks near Newport bearing inscriptions resembling those on the rocks at Dighton and Portsmouth. The records of the Society state: "Since then the rock has been visited and examined by John R. Bartlett. The impressions were found to be very indistinct, but Mr. B. succeeded in making a drawing, which will be presented to the Society."² Unfortunately no such drawing has been preserved, and we have no knowledge even of the approximate location of the rock or of the appearance of its, characters. It is not improbable that it was similar to, if not identical with, those seen at Price's Cove by Stiles and myself, bearing seeming incisions that were "evidently the Work of Nature only."

These seem to be the only published allusions to any petroglyph near Newport, though one hears also vague rumors

¹Antiquitates Americanae, p. 404.

²See manuscript volumes of the Society: Correspondence and Reports, iii. 68, and Trustees' Records, Sept. 21, 1840.

such as easily arise and turn out on investigation to have either no foundation or to be based on superficial inspection of markings that have only natural causes as their source. But besides these, there is one set of markings that are unquestionably artificial-a collection of basins and grooves on the rocks of the Bluffs near Purgatory. It is rather remarkable that the only allusions to them in print that I have been able to discover are such as speak of them in connection with foolish legends only, calling them the Devil's footprints, or the marks of his dragging a sinful woman over the rocks, or of the axe that he used in beheading her. They appear never to have been really described, though they are familiar to the passing visitor. Yet they are interesting in themselves and deserving of inquiry concerning their probable origin. And there are other reasons why it is important to include a discussion of them in these papers : although they do not in any sense constitute an inscription, yet our ability to distinguish genuine from merely apparent inscriptions will be increased by acquaintance with all sorts of unintentional, non-graphic effects of human agency as well as with accidental resemblances to inscriptions that are the result of purely natural causes; and knowledge of them probably clears up a long-standing mystery about Bishop Berkeley and his reported opinion concerning Dighton Rock.

The chart and photographs¹ of Plates XVI and XVII show the location of the Purgatory rocks and the appearance of the markings. These occur on narrow sandstone intrusions in the conglomerates at the lowest part of the ledges near their northern extremity at Sachuest Beach, just before the rocks begin to rise into cliffs. They begin about 250 feet beyond the extreme meeting-point of rocks and beach, and occur at intervals for a distance of about 100 feet toward the south. They are of two kinds. Some of them are shallow oval or roundish depressions or basins, somewhat like pot-holes but clearly not due to natural forces. They might even be classed as large

²Taken by the writer on August 23, 1921.

cup-markings, such as were described in our last paper. There are about three dozen of them in all, ranging in size from long ovals measuring about 25 by 10 inches, down to more nearly circular cups about 7 to 10 inches in one diameter and 6 to 9 in the other. Their depth runs from a little less than an inch to about 2 inches. Some are rather rough and irregular, others very regular, clear-cut and smooth. The grooves of the second type look very much like such a cut as would be made in soft material by a clean blow with a sharp axe. The largest is 14 inches long, 11/4 wide and 15% deep at the centre, narrowing and curving upward to a point at either extremity. Another measures 9 by 11/4, and 3/4 deep. Most of them are 7 to 10 inches long, 1/4 to 1/2 wide, and 1/8 to 1/4 deep. I counted twelve of them in all. One of them, shown in the photograph, is at the bottom of one of the basins. Besides these narrow grooves and wider basins, there are two other incisions of interest, besides numerous names and initials. One is a representation of an arrow, about 31/2 inches long, shallow but very clear. The other is a figure like the "eye" of a dressmaker's hook-and-eve, about 5 inches long and wide, with a sort of U between the small circles of the open end. The U and the circles are made of very small clear dots, the rest is grooved. Whether these two figures are due to the makers of the other grooves and basins, or to more recent visitors, it is impossible to determine.

While studying these basins, I heard some passers-by speak of them as "Devil's Footprints," probably because of the frequently repeated legends already referred to. Apparently this name gets attached everywhere to any mysterious holes in rocks that in the least resemble the prints of feet or hoofs. There are other alleged instances of marks made by the Devil in Warwick, in Swansea, near New Bedford, and probably in other places. The only serious account of the origin of these near Newport that I have heard of was related to me by Dr. Eugene P. King of Providence. He was told about 30 years ago that the basins were made in old days by Indians in polish-

ing some object by rubbing it round and round. As to the "axe-cut" grooves, the Indians made them also, he was informed, in sharpening their arrow-points; and we shall see that this same theory was probably advanced nearly 200 years ago. Doubtless it was not actually stone arrow-points that were thus sharpened there, for these the Indians fashioned and sharpened by flaking, not by grinding. But others of their implements, including bone and horn arrows and darts, were polished and sharpened by grinding, and for this purpose, says W. H. Holmes,¹ "in many localities exposed surfaces of rock in place were utilized, and these are often covered with the grooves produced by the grinding work. These markings range from narrow, shallow lines produced by shaping pointed objects, to broad channels made in shaping large implements and utensils." This description exactly applies to the markings on these Purgatory rocks, and might have been written with especial reference to them. It supplies the natural and almost certain explanation of their origin.

The possible connection with Berkeley is this: According to Eugène du Simitière, writing about 1781, "there is a tradition very current in New England, but particularly at New Port that when the learned Dean Berkeley resided near that last mentioned place about the year 1732² he visited the rock at Taunton, and had began an Elaborate dissertation upon the supposed inscription, when a farmer in the neighborhood, observing the Dean one day employed in copying the unknown characters, informed him, that, that rock had been used formerly by the Indians that resorted thither to Shoot ducks, and dart fish, to wett [whet] and Sharpen the points of their arrows and darts on that Stone which was the cause of the

¹Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, Bulletin 30, part i, page 7.

²Berkeley arrived in Newport on January 23, 1729, and resided there and at Whitehall until a few days before he sailed for England on September 21, 1731.

various hollow lines and figures formed thereon." Now although we have evidence from other sources both that Berkeley visited Dighton Rock and that the theory mentioned was applied to it, yet it seems incredible that Berkeley or anyone, after really seeing the rock, could have believed that any of its carvings could have been produced in that manner. It seems much more likely that the legend as related is a case of transference from one region, of which it may be true, to another where it cannot possibly apply. Berkeley wrote much of his Alciphron while sitting under the shelter of the overhanging ledges at Paradise Rocks. He was a lover of nature, and must have strolled upon the beaches and climbed over the rocks near Purgatory, close by. In fact, at the beginning of the second dialogue of the treatise mentioned, he speaks of going down to a beach, "where we walked on the smooth sand, with the ocean on one hand, and on the other wild broken rocks," and this was doubtless not his only visit there. It was there, much more probably than at Assonet Neck, that "a farmer of the neighborhood" expounded to him, and perhaps with truth, the same explanation of the marks that was still current when Dr. King heard the story. Afterwards, when the Dean had described his visits and observations at both places, his auditors, unacquainted with either, easily mixed them up and attached the arrow-sharpening incident to the wrong rock.

If we could trust the stories that were told in 1860 by that inventor of marvelous tales, Francis Loring, Chief Big Thunder, of whom we spoke in discussing the Mount Hope rock, then King's Rocks near Warren would constitute another case where marks were made by Indians without intention, incidentally to their other operations. Loring's probably mythical "book of skins, or of birch-bark," containing the pictographic national records of the Wampanoags, is reported to have included a picture which "represented four men rolling a heavy circular stone, by a stick placed through a hole in the

¹Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1916, xviii. 267.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XVI



The basins and grooves on ledges near Purgatory

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XVII



Section of Chart of Narragansett Bay



A plough-scored rock on Sachuest Neck

centre, back and forth over a quantity of corn, and described as the Wampanoag national grinding mill, where corn was ground for war parties or for any large public gathering of the people." These rocks are a ledge of mixed shale and sandstone, close up against a stone wall bordering the west side of the road leading north from Warren on the east side of Warren River, exactly where the State line crosses the road about two miles from Warren. There is a long trough worn into the surface of the ledge. According to Loring, this trough was made by Indian men rolling their heavy corn-grinding stone. Otis Olney Wright² gives a similar though slightly differing account of it. Here, he says, "the Indians from all over New England came to celebrate their victories. . . In this rock can be seen the old hollow where the Indian

women ground their corn for the feast, and the actual print of their knees as they knelt there for years." But Professor Charles W. Brown tells me that, in the opinion of geologists, the rock exhibits nothing more than the results of glaciation.

It would be interesting to know whether the marks at Purgatory, or those at Price's Cove, or others, were the ones found by Dr. Perry and drawn by Mr. Bartlett. To search anew the entire country about Newport with its miles of rocky shore would be a hopeless task. It seemed to the writer, however, that it would be worth while to make a casual inspection, at least, of Sachuest Point in Middletown, the only definite situation mentioned in the earlier rumors. Even here, the shore is lined with a chaotic mass of thousands of rocks and boulders, impossible to examine thoroughly and offering little promise of success in the search. I visited the place on September 2, 1919, and was rewarded by the discovery of a rock that appeared at first sight to be covered with rude artificial characters. Its location is easily discoverable on the chart of Plate XVII. It lay on the top of a high steep bank below

¹Warren Telegraph, June 2, 1860, p. 2, col. 4; V. Baker, Massasoit's Town, 1904, p. 37.

²History of Swansea, 1917, p. 239.

which lies the sea, about 250 feet south of a gate closing the road just beyond the group of buildings near the curve of the shore at the easterly end of Sachuest Beach. Since then I have found there other rocks similarly marked, and some of these were brought to Providence for more convenient study by a Committee of this Society appointed in February, 1920, to secure Inscribed Rocks, if possible, for the Museum of the Society. Finding no others that could be moved, the Committee, consisting of Livingston Ham, Judge Elmer J. Rathbun and myself, on July 17. 1920, took these stones for examination, without as yet having reached any conclusion as to whether their marks constituted inscriptions or were due to other causes.

The lines of the incisions on these rocks are not deep, averaging two or three millimeters, often shallower and rarely deeper; and their width is usually from 1/8 to 1/4 inch. They are not pecked in, but are semi-circular smooth cuts, as if made with a half-round chisel. Plate XVII, from a photograph which I took on July 11, 1920, gives a fairly adequate idea of their appearance. Only a few rocks of this region, modern or of doubtful age, were thus incised; in all the others, the lines are pecked. This does not settle the question as to whether the marks are of natural origin, or are purely accidental though of human agency, or are intentionally made human records. We would not be justified in calling them the latter, unless they include forms that could not be due to either of the other causes. It seems clear that they are not glacial striae, or worn thus by pebbles driven by waves. or the result of any other natural agencies. Mr. Harry E. Peckham, manager, and Jesse Vera, lessee of the farm, report that these rocks were all brought there from the neighboring field when it was cleared for planting, about 17 years ago and later. It is not impossible, however, that some of them were placed there for a similar reason sufficiently long before that to have served as a foundation for the rumor that was related to Dr. Webb by John Almy. When I was exploring the place during one of

my visits, a Portuguese boy living on the farm told me he did not believe that Indians made the marks; instead, "that's all the way they stick an iron bar to move the rock off the fields." This surmise of his cannot be the full explanation. Yet it gives the clue to what may have been the real agency.

After careful study of the incisions I am now fully convinced that on all these stones they are for the most part simply plough-marks, with a smaller number due to the action of harrow and crowbar; and Mr. Peckham tells me that this is his belief also. The neighboring cultivated field contains many stones, slabs and small boulders, buried at various depths. The stones on the bank have been drawn out from this field from time to time. A stone lying with a flat face upward at just the right depth to engage the nose of the plough without much interruption to its progress would be scored by just such lines vear after year, until it became enough of a nuisance to get dug out and carted to the dump heap. Naturally few of the rocks in the dump would show such scorings, for few would have possessed the necessary combination of conditions: kind of stone and degree of hardness such as can be so marked, and flat face lying upward at exactly the right depth.

With its deceptive partial covering of lichens, some marks on the first of these stones that I discovered looked to me like an Indian's crude drawing of a human figure, and others like circles and curves and a figure 4 that, if correctly seen, must have been deliberately produced by human beings. But after more deliberate study, it is now clear to me that the surface contains no artificially made circles and no lines at right angles to the main direction of the grooves. The appearance of these was in every case due to the peculiarities of lichen-growth and of natural conformations of the rock-surface. There remain only straight or slightly curved furrows running all in one general direction across the stone and occasionally down its sides, though sometimes meeting to form the vague semblance of artificial characters; and these are without doubt due to the agencies named.

At first sight it may seem that the outcome has hardly justified so much investigation and so long a discussion. Yet a scientific investigator knows that he must pursue many paths that lead to negative results. They are part of the process of progress. These rocks are instructive as showing how difficult it often is to trace causes and distinguish between natural and artificial ones, and of the latter between those that are casual and accidental and those that are deliberately intended. They illustrate how easily accidental collocations of lines may closely resemble pictures and letters of the alphabet, especially those of unknown tongues. They thus throw light on the frequency with which unwary observers report the discovery of ancient records that turn out to be something else, and how naturally learned men in the past have advocated futile translations of such complex genuine records as those of Dighton Rock. It has been well worth while to have studied these rocks, solved their mystery, and included them in our report on the inscribed rocks of our Bay.

The interest and value of this case will be enhanced by recalling a few instances in which wide celebrity as ancient human records has been attained by rocks and tablets without sufficient warrant.¹ Some of these were deliberate forgeries, some the work of nature. One of the most celebrated of them, the Grave Creek tablet, inscribed with regular lines of what are clearly meant to be alphabetical characters of some foreign type, is discussed cautiously in Hodge's Handbook, classed

¹Critical discussion of most of those here mentioned and of some

others may be found in the following among other sources: Hodge, F. W., editor, Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, 1907, 1910: i. 506. Mallery, G., in 10th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology,

^{1893.}

Vignaud, H., Expéditions des Scandinaves en Amérique, in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1910, nouv. sér., vol. vii. Whittlesey, C., in Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, 1879,

no. 44; 1881, no. 53.

Wilson, Sir D., Prehistoric Man. 1862, ii. 180, 194.

Winsor, J., Pre-Columbian Explorations, in Narrative and Critical History of America, 1889, vol. i.

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among Controverted Pictographs by Mallery, regarded by Wilson as "given to the world under equivocal circumstances, and elucidated with indiscreet zeal," and called definitely fraudulent by many reputable critics. Whittlesey describes an unquestionable forgery from Ohio; and to the same class belongs an "unmistakably genuine Scandinavian inscription" reported in 1867 from the banks of the Potomac, which Wilson and others tell us was a "clever hoax fabricated by the correspondent of the Washington Union out of genuine Greenland inscriptions." A famous case is that of Monhegan Island in Maine, whose "inscription," regarded by some as carved by ancient Phoenicians and by others as due to the Northmen, is considered by Winsor, Wilson and others as made up out of freaks of natural erosion. Equally famous are the stones at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, whose writings seem to declare in unmistakable Runic letters that "Harko's son addressed the men." Wilson and others deny that these inscriptions are genuine, but apparently they have not yet received critical study. This seems to be true of a number of rocks in Maine, New Hampshire and elsewhere, as it has been heretofore of those of Rhode Island. One case in Massachusetts is that of a rock in West Newbury, in the valley of the Merrimack, described and pictured by G. L. Pool in 1854,¹ celebrated by Whittier in his Double-headed Snake of Newbury as a "Northman's Written Rock," but apparently never mentioned by any competent student. So experienced an observer as Professor W. F. Ganong, who, I trust, will pardon my use of this instance so appropriate to our present argument, writes me that he once found markings on a stone in Maine which at first he took to be undoubtedly Indian and of which he even published an attempted interpretation, but which he is now convinced are glacial scratches. In the summer of 1919 I encountered a rumor that there was a "marked or inscribed rock" on the farm of Stephen O. Metcalf in Exeter. This turned out to be, however, a very modern tribute "To the

¹New Eng. Hist. Genealog. Register, viii. 185.

Memory of Wawaloam, wife of Miantinomi, 1661," fully described by Sidney S. Rider on page 131 of his "Lands of Rhode Island." I have also traced down rumors of other alleged "inscribed rocks,"-one found in Tiverton, whose marks resembled those at Sachuest and probably were due to similar causes; and one in Swansea which, though lost, almost certainly had on it nothing but natural veins and similar marks. The last case to which I shall refer is that of a rock in Rutland, Massachusetts. This was apparently first mentioned in Morse's American Universal Geography in 1805 as an "Ethiopic inscription." Kendall, in his Travels, 1809, says that he visited it and found it to be a purely natural granite stone with veins of schoerl. Yet Webb, in his letter to Rafn on September 22, 1830, indicates that it was still rumored to be "a line of considerable length in unknown characters;" and only later, after further inquiry, as he announced in his letter of October 31, 1835, did he discover and adopt Kendall's view of it.1 Wilson wrote of it as "an American counterpart to the famous Swedish Runamo Inscription, in its graphic freaks of natural crystallization." In this same connection, we should not forget the wholly unfounded yet ardently advocated Norse theories concerning the Fall River skeleton and Governor Arnold's windmill at Newport.

The Sachuest stones and these additional instances not only teach us caution in arriving at conclusions concerning apparent inscriptions, but they acquaint us with some of the numerous possibilities that must be held in mind. The clearest lesson conveyed by the history of Dighton Rock is that even in the case of unquestionable human inscriptions our ultimate interpretations must rest not upon emotional preference but upon patiently accumulated and calmly weighed evidence, and that it is very easy to be led astray by imperfect copies and by superficial resemblances. Our whole series of papers is emphasizing as one conclusion that even genuine inscriptions may often contain characters that are meaningless products of a

¹Antiquitates Americanae, pp. 360, 400.

mere activity-impulse, or in other cases are simply ornamental designs. These last considered cases show that besides intentional design, symbolic or meaningless, we must entertain as alternative possibilities not merely natural forces of a wide variety, but also distorted rumor, deliberate fraud, and human yet unintended agency like that of plough, crow bar and other tools, or like that resulting in grooves incidental to grinding and similar processes. These facts will all be of value when we attempt to formulate our final conclusions concerning the rock-carving activities in the region that we are studying.

Muster Roll in the Canada Expedition 1711 Newport

A List of all the Men taken onbd the Ship the 18 July 1711

I	Danll Rogers	25	Henry Hall
2	Wm Greenman	26	
3	Jere Apleton	27	Henry Millkin
4	Peleg Remington	28	
4 5 6	Benony Gardner	29	John Nicholls
	Robe Eldredge	30	Jeremiah Gardner
7 8	Ebenezr Graves	31	Josh Smith
8	Duncan Keley	32	
9	Jos Moss	33	
IO	John Watkins	34	
ΙI	John Brown	35	
12	Richd Williams	36	
13	Jonathn Mot	37	
14	Josh Aston	38	
	Adam Mot	39	Wm Comins
16	Thos Wilcox	40	John Thomas
17	Parley Alsworth	41	Toby Wats
18	Peleg Green	42	James Bently
19	John Pitceher	43	Nathll Wood
20	Josh Odell	44	Peter Butten
	Wm Pullen	45	Zachrey Eddy
22	Josh Hadwell	46	Samll Burlingham
23	John Ostin	47	Thos North
24	Uriah Edwards	• 48	John Phileps

Richd Sailes 49 Josiah Thornton 50 Jonh Scot 5 I. Uriah Davis 52 Benj Waite 53 Wm Cate 54 Harrindon 55 Nathl Dogget 56 57 John North 58 Stephen Arnold Thos Walls 59 Richd Nicholls 60 61 Robt Nicholls 62 Steph Capell 63 Mark Roberts 64 Wm Careway 65 Nathll Williams 66 John Tarbox 67 Edwd Coxx 68 Wm Underwood 69 Edwd Greenman 70 Wm Cranston Cornelus Peck 7 I Wm Griffen 72 73 John George 74 Benja Palmer 75 Richd Caverly 76 David Barrey 77 Joseph Palmer 78 James Russell Danll Vaughan 79 80 Timothy Dredges 81 Thos Wells 82 Jeremiah Mot 83 Ionathn Baker 84 Richd Sweet 85 John Sukkuawgsser? 86 Jacob Papegan 87 Robt Drummer 88 Danll Indian 89 Wm Dinell Ionth Month 90 **Job** Clute QI.

- Robin Slocum 92

Peter Wilboar 93 Sampson Dennis 94 Thos Talbut 95 96 Huling James Peter Sweet 97 98 **James** Champlin John Cook 99 100 Johnath Cook IOI Toby Babcook 102 Wm Babut Josh Stanton 103 John Hazeard 104 105 Samll Greenman 106 John Babcock 107 David Potter 108 Trewgo Squibidge Ned Stratten ICO Thos Larkin 110 Antho Indian III Peter Babcock 112 113 Ephram Morgin II4 Isack Settack Thos Gardiner 115 116 Isaac King 117 John East 118 Nimble Harris Jeffrey Pander 110 John Freman 120 Robin Teft 121 122 Toby Stevenson 123 John Jeffrey James Foss 124 Samll Umpeton 125 126 John Nucomb 127 John Setuck 128 Gregory Jeffrey Joseph Spywood 120 130 Wannamus 131 John Knight 132 Simon George 133 John Ouack John Tantiochen I 34 135 Samll James 130 Isack Neby

16

NOTES

138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 Sould Saile 150 151 152 153	James Hannah Roger Evens Frank Smith Joseph Rogers John Earle John Theobolds Samll Littlefield Joshua Clarke Edwd Springer John Dublin James Bowlyson Leynord Cozens Wm Ashton Shubell Clinton Thos Bucker Jamed Yeats Peter Low drs—149 rs John Griffith James Chadsey Robt Lees Ed Nicholls Jno Harrison	 156 Timo Whiteing 157 John Fuller 158 Tom Coleson Officers 159 Coll. Lee 160 Majr Smith 161 Capt Hinchman 162 Leiutt Burlingham 163 Do Jefferson 164 Do Clarke 165 Ens. Burlingham 166 Do Green 167 Do Man 168 Capt Brewer 169 Mr Gideons 170 Tho Cranston 171 Tom Byfield not aboard Impressd Ed: Springer J: Earle James Bowlanson John Dublin (From original manuscript in State Archives, Providence,
152	Robt Lees Ed Nicholls	
155	Humphry More	R. I.)

Notes

An article on "King Philip's Chair," together with a picture of the chair, appears in the October number of "Old Time New England."

Mrs. Hiram F. Hunt of Kingston, R. I., and Alfred Trego Butler, Esq., of the College of Arms, London, England, have been elected to membership in the Society.

The October Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society contains an article by Miss M. E. Powel on the French officers who served in the Revolution.

The Society of Colonial Dames in Rhode Island have issued in pamphlet form the addresses delivered at the Dedication of the Rhode Island Bay at Valley Forge.

The volume on American Samplers by Bolton and Coe, which

has just been issued by the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, contains considerable material of Rhode Island interest. In addition to listing a large number of Rhode Island samplers, it includes an account of the work of Polly Balch's school in Providence, thus throwing light on a little known phase of local education.

We have received several requests for Volume 11, No. 4, and Volume 13, No. 2, of our "Collections." As our supply of these numbers is exhausted, we can only fill these requests through the generosity of some of our members.

The manuscript account book of Joseph Williams, son of Roger, covering the years 1705 to 1731, has been received as a bequest from the late Mrs. Josephine H. White.

Indian Graves Unearthed at Charlestown

In October, Mr. T. L. Arnold of Arnolda, Charlestown, R. I., while digging a cellar unearthed an old Indian burial ground. The first object discovered was an ancient breechloading cannon, which was very badly rusted. It lay only a couple of feet beneath the surface. Near it but slightly deeper was found a skeleton. Beside the skeleton was a rather long sword beyond which was discovered another skeleton. The graves were scarcely three feet long indicating that the bodies were probably buried in a curled up position as was often done by the Indians. Three copper kettles, some beads, a clay pipe stem and a tube of blue glass which evidently was the material from which beads were to be cut, although most of the beads found were shell wampum. A few pieces of very coarse blue cloth, perhaps a sort of burlap, were found attached to pieces of copper and bone.

The sword had a rather elaborate guard and although badly rusted still retained some of its spring. Within the distance of fifteen or twenty feet parts of three other skeletons were discovered although the skulls of these latter skeletons were not found. Some teeth and jawbones of some small animals such as dogs, cats or skunks were also found. Two Indian shell heaps were discovered nearby the graves. These shell heaps had been covered by dirt indicating that a natural surface deposit had taken place. A large hunk of red coloring matter (war paint) was also discovered.

Officers of the Rhode Island Historical Society

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT UNTIL THE PRESENT TIME.

PRESIDENTS.

James Fenner, .					1822 to 1833.
John Howland,			•		1833 to 1854.
Albert Gorton Greene,					1855 to 1868.
Samuel Greene Arnold,		•			1868 to 1880.
Zachariah Allen, .					1880 to 1882.
William Gammell, .					
Horatio Rogers, .					
John Henry Stiness,					
George Taylor Paine,					1903
Albert Harkness, .				•	1904 to 1906.
Wilfred Harold Munro					1906 to 1920.
Howard Willis Preston,					

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Theodore Foster,			1822 to 1823.
Henry Bull,			1823 to 1832.
William Hunter,			1832 to 1835.
Christopher Grant Champlin,			1835 to 1840.
Job Durfee,			1840 to 1845.
William Hunter,			1845 to 1849.
Albert Gorton Greene, .			1849 to 1855.
Samuel Greene Arnold,			1855 to 1868.
George Arnold Brayton, .			1868 to 1870.
Zachariah Allen			1870 to 1880.
William Gammell,	•		1880 to 1882.
Francis Brinley,			1882 to 1888.
Charles William Parsons, .		•	1888 to 1890.
George Moulton Carpenter, .			1890 to 1896.

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William Babcock Weeden,					1897 to 1899.
John Nicholas Brown, .					1899 to 1900.
John Franklin Jameson,					1901 to 1902.
George Taylor Paine, .					1902 to 19 03 .
William MacDonald, .					1903 to 1914.
William Chace Greene,					1914 to 1 920 .
Elmer Jeremiah Rathbun,					1920 to

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

John Howland,				1822 to 1823.
Theodore Foster, .				1823 to 1828.
Samuel Eddy,	2			1828 to 1831.
Samuel Eddy, John Brown Francis, .				1831 to 1835.
Moses Brown,	•	•		1835 to 1837.
Romeo Elton, Albert Gorton Greene, .				1837 to 1843.
Albert Gorton Greene, .				1843 to 1849.
William Hunter, Elisha Reynolds Potter, Jr.,				1849 to 1850.
Elisha Reynolds Potter, Jr.,				1850 to 1855.
George Arnold Brayton,				1855 to 1868.
William Read Staples, .				1868 to 1869.
Zachariah Allen,				1869 to 1870.
George Arnold Brayton, .				1870 to 1873.
Francis Brinley,				1873 to 1882.
Charles William Parsons, .				1882 to 1888.
Elisha Benjamin Andrews,				1888 to 1889.
Horatio Rogers,				1889 to 1890.
Elisha Benjamin Andrews				1890 to 1896.
William Babcock Weeden, .				1896 to 1897.
William Ames,				1897 to 1900.
John Franklin Jameson, .				1900 to 1901.
Robert Hale Ives Goddard,				1901 to 1913.
Stephen Ostrom Edwards, .				1913 to 1914.
Charles Sisson, St. George Leakin Sioussat,				1914 to 1919.
St. George Leakin Sioussat,				1920 to 1921.
Harold Redwood Curtis,				1921 to
				-
SECF				
William Read Staples, .		•	•	1822 to 1830.
Thomas Hopkins Webb,				1830 to 1839.
TUTIL D. I.C. I				

r nomas riopkins webb,			•		1030101039.
William Read Staples,					1839 to 1841.
John Power Knowles, .					1841 to 1845.
Thomas Coles Hartshorn,					1845 to 1849.
Charles William Parsons,					1849 to 1851.

Henry Truman Beckwith,					1851 to 1861.
Sidney Smith Rider, .					1861 to 1866.
Edwin Miller Snow, .					1866 to 1867.
Zachariah Allen,					1867 to 1868.
George Taylor Paine,					
Amos Perry,					1873 to 1899.
Wilfred Harold Munro,					1900 to 1906.
Amasa Mason Eaton, .					1906 to 1914.
Howard Willis Preston,					1914 to 1920.
Erling Cornelius Ostby,					
George Thurston Spicer,					1920 to

TREASURERS.

				1822 to 1824.
				1824 to 1833.
		•		1833 to 1836.
				1836 to 1842.
				1854 to 1867.
				1867 to 1903.
	•			1903 to 1914.
	•			1914 to 1915.
Jr.,				1915 to
	· · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

CABINET KEEPERS AND LIBRARIANS.

William Read Staples, .					1822 to 1823.
Walter Raleigh Danforth, .					1823 to 1824.
Joseph Howard,					
John Gould Anthony, .					
Albert Gorton Greene, .					
William Read Staples, .					
George Baker,			•		1841 to 1845.
Thomas Coles Hartshorn, .					1845 to 1849.
George Washington Greene,		•			1849 to 1851.
Edwin Martin Stone, .					1851 to 1880.
Amos Perry,					1 880 to 1899.
Clarence Saunders Bridgham	ι,				1900 to 1908.
Howard Malcolm Rice,					1908
William Arthur Wing, .					1909 to 1910.
Frank Greene Bates, .					
					1912 to

Abstracts of Early East Greenwich Wills

CONTRIBUTED BY

NORMAN M. ISHAM AND HOWARD W. PRESTON

Cooper, James,

January 4, 1716; July 27, 1716.

To wife, Elizabeth, admx. estate during widowhood. " son, James, hrs. and assigns, all of estate at marriage or

death of wife afsd. James, to pay brothers, Stephen, Samuel and Mathew, five pounds at age of 21.

James, to pay his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, seven pounds at age of 18.

To my negro servant, John, his life and liberty.

Ex.: Pardon Tillinghast, Jeremiah Gould.

Test: Pardon Tillinghast, Jeremiah Gould, Richard Briggs.

I, 5

Wever, William,	May 22, 1718;
	July 14, 1718.
Admx.: Widow, Elizabeth.	

Test: Cheman Wever, Joseph Wever.

I, 9

June 17. 1718; August 30, 1718.

Admx.: Widow, Mary,

Grinnell, Matthew, veoman.

Appraisers: Joshua Coggeshall, John Willson, Nicholas Whitford.

I, 9 Mary Grinnell, widow, marries John Manchester. They pay Thomas Grinnell, eldest son of Matthew, 5 pounds, 18 sh. at age of 21.

To Matthew, second son, 36 pounds at age of 21.

" John, third son, 36 pounds at age of 21.

lf any of three die before the age of 21, the sum shall be divided equally between the remaining two.

Dated January 21, 1719/0.

Green, Benjamin, husbandman, January 4, 1718; March 5, 1718/9. To wife, Humility, estate during widowhood. 64 son, John, and hrs., farm he now lives on. £ 6 6.6 Benjamin, and hrs., 1/2 homestead. 66 65 Henry, other half of homestead. 6.5 66 Caleb. Minors. 66 66 Joshua. To daughters, Mary Spencer, wife of Thomas, 20 sh. 66 66 Ann Tennant, wife of Daniel, 20 sh. 44 66 Phoebe Wells, wife of Thomas, 20 sh. 66 Sarah Green, Dinah Green, Deborah Green, Katharine Green-under 18. Exec .: wife, Humility, Capt. Benjamin Nichols, of Kingston, John Coggeshall, and Joshua Coggeshall, Test: Joseph Maxon, Joseph Lewis, Mary Lewis. I, 11, 12, 13 Davis, William, July 3, 1721: December 30, 1721. To my daughter, Ida, hrs. and assigns, lands and orchards at age of 18. " my wife, Katharine, admx. remainder of estate. Appraisers, Capt. Benjamin Nichols, Thomas Spencer. I. 19 Bundy, James, September 25, 1721 : April 10, 1722. To son, Samuel, sole exec. I. 22 Cory, Wiiliam, July 23. 1719; August 31. 1719. To wife. Elizabeth, exec. estate during widowhood. son. William, one hundred acres of land and one grove. n 6 " John, one grove. 66 44 Anthony, one house lot. " my four daughters, 4 cowes. Test: John Moss, Henry Mattison, John Carpenter. I. 15 Spencer, Michael,

February 23, 1722/3;

May 30, 1723.

- To wife, Deborah, admx. whole estate, councilors, Major Thomas Ivy and Thomas Spencer.
 - " son, Thomas and hrs., at widow's death, 2-3 real estate with my work tools.
 - " son, Jeremiah and hrs. remaining 1-3.
 - " grandson Joseph Read, one bed and bedding at age of 21.
- " my daughter, Susannah, wife of John-----?, 3/4 of whole estate after widow's death.

" my son, Thomas, remaining 1/4 at widow's death.

Test: John Spencer, John Spencer, 2nd, Thomas Spencer. I, 23

Nicholas, John, yeoman,

26th September, 1725;

18th November, 1725.

- To son, John, and hrs., 1/4 of farm, north side, 25 acres, 5 pounds.
- " son, Thomas, ¼ farm, city lot lying north of country road and salt water, and 5 pounds.
- " son, Robert, other half of farm.
- " " Joseph, remaining land, buildings and improvements.
- " daughter, Susannah Cahoon, wife of Samuel, of Warwick, one feather bed, three blankets, etc., one coverlid, 15 pounds.
- " daughter, Mary, 2 feather beds, blankets, coverlid, pillows, etc., one cow, 25 pounds, 2 brass kettles, all my pewter, except half a dozen pewter spoons.
- " my wife, Deborah, 10 pounds.

Ex.: Robert Nicholas, Joseph Nicholas.

Test: David Vaughn, Christopher Vaughn, Thomas Spencer. I, 34, 35, 36, 37

Spink, Robert,

January 14, 1724/5; April 26, 1726.

Son of Israel Spink, Israel Spink, sole exec.

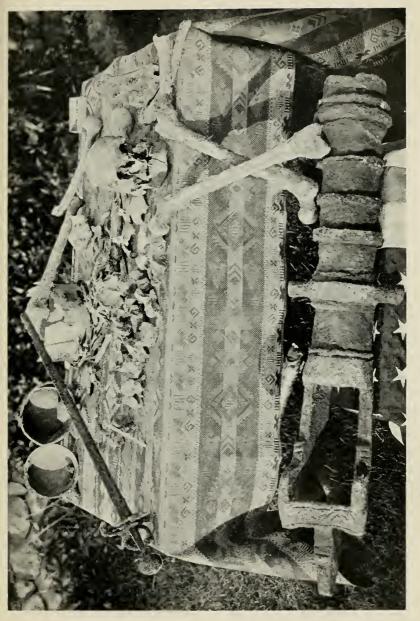
I, 40

Long, Philip,

October 3, 1726; November 5, 1726.

Widow, Hannah, sole exec.

I, 43



Cannon, Sword and Indian remains recently excavated on the farm of Mr. T. L. Arnold, Arnolda, Charlestown, R. I. Photograph contributed by John R. Hess



Old advertising broadside with picture of one of the early Narragansett Bay steamboats. From original in Rhode Island Historical Society Library

Reynolds, Henry, died intest. August 8, 1726; November 5, 1726. Mary, widow, sole exec. estate to be divided among children. I. 47 Underwood, William, 1726;September 15, 1726. To wife, Ann, exec. whole estate during widowhood, and 50 lots in East Greenwich. 66 son, Israel, 60 acres of land at age of 21. " sons, William, John, Joseph, Elizabeth, Ruth and Alice. (Friend Joseph Edwards, to find a trade for the sons). I, 49, 50 Nicholas, Phoebe, 5th April, 1721; 28th March, 1727. To son, John, 1 sh. 66 Stephen, 1 sh. granddaughter, Phoebe, my chest. " my six children, Richard, Robert, Jane Vaughn, Elizabeth,-Sarah Mattison, Ann Underwood, the remainder of the whole estate. Ex.: My son, Richard Nicholas. Test: John -----, Elizabeth Cahoon, Thomas Spencer. I, 53 Coggeshall, Capt. Joshua, October 2, 1727. Thomas Coggeshall, yeoman, sole ex. I. 57 7th March, 1727/8; Brayton, Thomas, yeoman, 13th April, 1728 To son, Thomas, during life, lands in Portsmouth, rights in hunting swamps (to pay wife Mary Brayton, 20 pounds a year after age of 21) In case of death of Thomas, lands and premises to be given to sons, Gideon and Francis Brayton. 66 son Gideon, at age of 21, farm where he now lives, and two city lots, swamps and all the rest of lands at age of 21. 66 son, Francis, and hrs. farm and swamps. 66 my two daughters, Mary and Hannah, all the land given me by my father-in-law, Gideon -? 66 my son, Thomas, my negro boy, Pero. 66 my daughter, Mary, my negro girl, Jessie. 64 my wife, Mary, my negro woman, Betty, the remainder of the estate to be divided between wife and children.

Ex.: Wife, Mary, and son, Thomas, when he arrive at age of 21. Test: John Green, Robert Vaughn, Thomas Spencer. 1, 72, 73, 74 Straight, Henry, May 5, 1728; June 29, 1728. To son, Henry, 5 sh. 66 John, one half of farm. " wife, Mary, sole ex. whole estate, goods and chattels. Test: Robert Vaughn, Samuel Shippe, John Carpenter, I, 83, 84 Spencer, Deborah. 14th November, 1728. (Widow and exec. of Michael Spencer, died intest) Exec.: Thomas Spencer and wife. Inventory, 69 pounds, 9s. 5d. I. 91 Peirce, Phillip, 13th August, 1728; 28th September, 1728. To wife, Frances, sole exec. 1/3 estate. " my three children, Mary, Benjamin, and Phillips, 2/3 estate. Test: Benjamin Bentley, John Gay, Thomas Spencer. Inventory. 158 pounds, 14s. 11d. I. 91 Goudwin, John, 16th January, 1728/9. Exec.: Peter Mory. Inventory, 46 pounds, 12s. 2d. I, 95 Vaughn, David, 19th December, 1728; 28th December, 1728. Mary Vaughn, widow, sole exec. Inventory, 2138 pounds, 17s. 4d. I. 101 Wells, Thomas, October 16, 1727; April 26, 1729. Exec.: Son Peter Wells and his wife, Mary. Inventory, 163 pounds, 7s. 6d. I, 101

26

Vaughn, George,

7th November, 1729; 29th November, 1729.

- To son, George and heirs, homestead, farm with lot lying next to John Langford's land, with small lot lying adjoining to William Bennet, housing buildings, fencings, and improvements, all privileges and appurtenances therein.
 - " son, Daniel and heirs, land adjoining Samuel Gerrys', with bogland and shore, 2 house lots between Country Road and salt water, privileges and appurtenances therein.
 - " sons George and Daniel, each one feather bed and furniture.
 - " daughter, Elizabeth, 60 pounds, one half of household goods, except what is given to sons.
 - " daughter, **Jane**, 60 pounds, one half of household goods except aforementioned, to be given her at age of 18 or day of marriage.
 - " son, Daniel, 20 pounds, one pair of oxen, three cows, 20 sheep, when he is 21.
 - " son George, remainder of estate.

Ex.: Christopher Vaughn, brother, and son, George.

Test: John Wever, John Peirce, Thomas Spencer.

Inventory, 611 pounds, 19s. 4d.

I, 105

Hyams, John,

John Hyams, son, ex.

Inventory, 60 pounds, 19s. 4d.

Briggs, Daniel, yeoman,

9th September, 1727;

November 27, 1729.

7th April, 1730.

- To daughter, Hannah, wife of Joseph Gardiner, and heirs, 70 shillings.
 - " daughter, Martha, wife of Samuel Spencer, and heirs, 10 pounds.
 - " daughter, Deliverance Briggs, one feather bed and bedding, and 20 pounds.
 - " daughter, Mary Briggs, one feather bed and bedding and 20 pounds.
 - " daughter, Deliverance and Mary Briggs, all my movables within doors.
- To my son, Benjamin, exec. and heirs, dwelling house and farm, and remainder of estate.

Test: Thomas Mattison, William Remington.

Inventory, 323 pounds, 19s. 10d.

Semeralt, Hannah, died January 17, 1729/30. Henry Semeralt, brother, gives inventory April 11, 1730. 39 pounds, 3s, 0d.

Dellenor, Joseph, yeoman,

July 5, 1729; April 5, 1731.

To son, John Dellenor, 5 shillings after death of wife.

- " daughter, Lidia Parker, 1 shilling after death of wife.
- " son, William, 5 shillings in manner aforesaid.
- " daughter, Mary Joshling, 1 shilling in manner aforesaid.
- " my daughter, Abigail Niles, 1 shilling in manner aforesaid.
- " my wife, Rachael Dellenor, exec. all my estate during life.
- " my grandson, William, son of Abigail, whole estate after death of wife aforesaid.

Test: Jeremiah Jones, James Reynolds, Benjamin Sweet. Inventory, 65 pounds, 07s. 6d.

I, 118

Straight, Henry, blacksmith,

25th October, 1732;

16th November, 1732.

To son, Samuel, at age of 21, 1/3 of estate after bequests. " sons, John, Thomas, Joseph, and Henry, remainder of estate after bequests are paid.

To	my	daughter,	Rebekah	Beley.	5	shillings.

- " " " Elizabeth Straight, 5 shillings.
- " " " Hannah Westcote, 5 shillings.
- " " Mary Straight, 5 shillings.
- " " " Sarah Straight, 5 pounds.
- " " Abigail Straight, 5 pounds.
- " " " Mary Straight, 35 pounds for her bringing up and education, to be given her at age of 18.
- " son, Thomas, to be the guardian of Henry and Mary.
- " " Thomas, Exec. and heirs, remainder of estate and lands, after legacies are paid.
- Test: Mary Sweet, Nicholas Whitford, Jonathan Picher, John Jenkins.

Inventory, 172 pounds, 19s. 6d.

I, 122

Slocum, Joseph, yeoman,

31st October, 1732;

27th January, 1732/3.

- To my wife, Mary, exec. all movable objects.
 - ' my child, not yet born, all my lands and house, to its heirs and assigns, if said child die without issue after death of wife aforesaid, all lands to be given to cousin. Thomas

28

Rogers. If Thomas Rogers die without issue all lands to be given to my cousin, Thomas Green, and heirs. Test: Caleb Corry, Joseph Corr, William Corr. Inventory, 402 pounds, 05s 1d.

I, 130

died intestate.

John Nicholas, sole admx. appointed 24th February, 1732/3. Inventory, 44 pounds, 14s. 11d.

I, 136

29th March, 1733;

28th April, 1733.

- To my wife, Exsperiance, 20 pounds and best room in my dwelling house during widowhood.
 - " son, Richard, 5 pounds.

Briggs, Richard, yeoman,

Lewis, George,

- " " Francis, 5 pounds and about 8 or 10 acres of land north and east of my homestead farm.
- " son, John, and heirs, all my homestead farm, with all priviliges and appurtenances therein, except otherwise bequeathed.
- " son, Caleb 10 acres of land north and east of Capt. Peter Mawney's land, and south of highway, and west of Jonathan Nichols, and 5 pounds.
- " daughter, Sarah Aylsworth, 20 pounds.
- " ... Ann King, 10 pounds, 5 sheep and 5 lambs.
- " sons, Phillip and Daniel, 10 pounds each, to be paid to the guardian of said sons.
- " my daughters, Mary and Ada, 5 pounds each.
- " " grandsons, Richard Briggs, Caleb Tarbox, and Richard Mattison, (bequest illegible) to be paid their respective fathers.

Ex.: John Briggs, son.

Test: Thomas Spencer, Jeremiah Jenkins, John Jenkins. Inventory, 484 pounds, Os. Od.

Drake, John, yeoman,

I, 136

16th June, 1733;

27th June, 1733.

- To my wife, Esther, and heirs, 1/3 estate.
- " Desier Arnold, wife of John Arnold, 5 pounds.
- " Fear Smith, wife of Christopher Smith, 5 pounds.
- " my daughter, Elizabeth Drake, and heirs, 100 pounds at age of 18.
- " my son, .Francis Drake, and heirs, the remainder of estate at age of 21.

- If **Francis** or **Elizabeth** die before coming to age, their portion shall go to the survivor.
- Ex.: Joseph Wever and Esther Drake, wife.

Test: William Greene, Benjamin Bentley & William Martin. Inventory, 707 pounds, 14s. 10d.

Hopkins, Joseph,

15th May, 1735;

I, 341

5th July, 1735.

- To my wife, Martha Hopkins, the best room in my dwelling house, 1 cow, 2 hogs, and the keeping of said cow and hogs during her natural life, and all my household goods or movables, in lieu of her third or dowry in my estate.
 - " my son, Joseph, 5 shillings.
 - " " sons, William and Samuel, and heirs, my household farm to be divided equally.
 - " my son, John, 30 pounds.
- " " Robert, 1/2 my outdoors movables except aforesaid and 30 pounds.
- " my son, Thomas, 30 pounds at age of 21, if he dies before age of 21, the sum to be divided between his sisters, Phoebe Picher, Hannah and Theodosha Hopkins, and ½ my outdoors movables except otherwise bequeathed.
- To my daughter, Phoebe Picher, 1 cow.

" " " Hannah and Theodosha, 25 pounds and 1 cow each.

Ex.: Sons, William and Samuel Hopkins.

Test: Nicholas Whitford, Joseph Berry, John Jenkins. Inventory, 173 pounds, 17s. 6d.

Gardiner, Samuel,

I, 350 October 23, 1735; October 29, 1735.

Mary Gardiner, wife, exec. Inventory, 258 pounds, 4s. 11d.

I, 155

Davis, Joshua, yeoman,

1, 155

27th May, 1734;

31st January, 1735/6.

- To my granddaughter, Elda Davis, dau. of William Davis, 5 shillings.
- " my son, Aaron Davis, 5 shillings and my wearing apparel.
- " " John, 5 shillings,
- " " " Samuel Davis, and heirs, all my rights in the forge and all priviliges therein.
- " my grandson, Joshua Davis, and heirs, (son of William

Davis) my house lot in East Greenwich. If he die under age or without issue, the house lot to go to his next eldest brother, his heirs and assigns.

- " my daughter, **Rebekah Briggs**, wife of James Briggs, 10 pounds.
- " my daughter, Katharine Godfree, wife of John Godfree,
- " and to my granddaughter, Mary Pain, 10 pounds each.
- " my daughters, Rebekah Briggs and Katharine Godfree, all my pewter, marked with my wife's maiden name, to be equally divided between them.
- " my son, Jeffrey Davis, my negro boy, Fentain, my son, Jeffrey Davis to pay his brother, Samuel, 10 pounds, within one year, and to pay his brothers, Aaron, and John, 9 pounds, 15s. each within one year after my decease.
- " my wife, **Mary**, the whole profit of the part of my house I now dwell in, and all household goods, the whole profit of the northern most half of my homestead farm, or that my two sons, **Jeffrey** and **Samuel Davis**, shall provide one milch cow and riding beast between them, and pay my wife 10 pounds each year of her natural life, instead of her lawful thirds.
- Ex.: Samuel and Jeffrey Davis.

Test: Thomas Mattison, Joseph Bery, Thomas Spencer. Inventory, 241 pounds, 15s. 0d.

I, 157

Spencer, Martha,

27th March, 1736.

Ex.: Walter Spencer, brother. Inventory, 33 pounds, 10s. 5d.

Peckham, Reuben,

I, 163 June 1, 1736; July 2, 1736.

- To my wife, Sarah, all the profit my tools and benches, mare, colt and cow, all household goods, dwelling house in Newport, now in possession of Andrew Sherburn, during natural life, after her decease to descend to Anthony Peckham, son, and his heirs. In case of death of Anthony before his mother, the house to go to my cousin, John Peckham.
- To my son, Anthony, and heirs, my two shops, and one stable with the land thereto on the Main street in Newport, when at age of 21. The profits in the meantime to be given to my wife, Sarah. In case said son shall die before age of

21, said shop and stable and land shall go to John Peckham and heirs. Anthony to be sent to school by his mother to learn a trade.

Ex.: Sarah Peckham, wife and Ephraim Weeks, uncle, of Newport.

Test: John Brett, Joseph Nichols & Giles Peirce. Inventory, 685 pounds, 1s. 5 and 1/4d.

I, 165

Spencer, Robert, died intest. August 3, 1736. Ex.: Robert Spencer, yeoman. Inventory, 254 pounds, 12s. 10d.

I, 171

Case, Abigail, widow of William Case, 22nd October, 1729; 23rd February, 1736/7.

- To my grandchildren, Mary Case & Abigail Case & Margaret Case, daughters of William Case, the estate to be equally divided with the exception of 20 shillings more to Margaret.
- Ex.: John Manchester.

Test: Sarah Tillinghast, Elizabeth Berry, Pardon Tillinghast. Inventory, 236 pounds, 2s. 6d.

I, 172

- Hope, Mary, widow of Edward Hope, 14th May, 1734; 25th December, 1736.
 - To my son, William Hope, 5 shillings.
 - " " daughter, Mary Roberts, black silk hood
 - " " Content Hope, feather bed and furniture thereto belonging.

" my daughters, aforesaid, all my other goods and money. Ex.: John Manchester, my cousin.

Test.: John Nichols, Thomas Mattison, John Jenkins. Inventory, 113 pounds, 13s. 4d.

I, 176

Briggs, Thomas,

January 4th, 1724; December 25, 1736.

To my wife, Martha, residue of estate after debts are paid, and after her death to go to my daughter, Ann Gardiner. Test: Joseph Edwards, Ishmael Spink, Thomas Spencer.

Inventory, 157 pounds, 5s. 11d.

I, 181

[CONTINUED IN THE APRIL NUMBER]

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COLLECTIONS

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No. 2

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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Wallum Pond Estates

BY HARRY LEE BARNES

Location and Surroundings.

Wallum Pond¹, which is crossed near its southern end by the 42nd parallel, lies about 1½ miles east of the Connecticut line, partly in Douglas, Mass., and partly in Burrillville, Rhode Island. It is situated in the southern part of what in early Colonial times was called the Nipmuck country. The Nipmuck lands extended from Central Massachusetts northward past the Watchusett Hills, to about the southern line of New Hampshire; northeastward to the Pawtuckets on the lower Merrimac; eastward to the Massachusetts Indians by the Bay, and to the Wampanoags east of the Blackstone; southward to the northern Rhode Island bands tributary to the Narragansetts, and to the Mohegans of east central Connecticut; and westward to the Indians of the Connecticut valley.

¹ For information concerning Wallum Pond on the early maps, see appendix.

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A small stream rises in southern Douglas, easterly of Wallum Pond and flows southerly across the Rhode Island line into the Pascoag River. Its sources were favorite Indian camping sites and it has been called Nipmuck Brook from early times. Ten miles southeasterly of Wallum Pond is Nipsachuck¹, a place through which King Philip passed in his flight westward to the Nipmuck country. Three miles northwesterly of Wallum Pond, in Webster, Mass., lies a lake called Chaubunagungamaug, a word which is said to have meant. "The Boundary Fishing Place." Six miles westerly was the village of Quantisset, once plundered by the Narragansetts to revenge an insult to their Sachem. Twelve miles to the westward beyond the Ouinebaug River in Woodstock was Wabbaquasset2, "The Mat producing Country," so called from some marsh or meadow which furnished reeds for mats and baskets. Twelve miles to the southwest in central Killingly was Wahmunsqueeg, "The Spot resorted to for Whetstones." The land about Plainfield, Conn., south of Wabbaquasset and Wamunsqueeg was the Quinebaug country.

Wallum or Allum?

People of the present day who recall events before 1850 pretty generally agree that in their youth, the name "Allum Pond," was more frequently used by the old people. It is worthy of note that "Alum" is the name given two ponds about thirty miles to the westward in Massachusetts. As early as 1710, the Rhode Island deeds referred to this pond as Allum or Allom Pond and the Report of the Rhode Island-Massachusetts Boundary Commission which surveyed the line in 1719 mentioned Allum Pond. The first map to show the pond spelled with a "W" was the Douglas map of 1753. It must be conceded that Dr. Douglas had excellent opportunities to get information as he frequented this vicinity. He had a great interest in history and it is not impossible that he was informed by local Indians that Walamp was more nearly like the Indian pronunciation

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¹ Hubbard, Drake's Edition, Vol. 1, page 90.

² Larned's History of Windham County.

than Allum. The spelling Walamp on the Douglas map was followed for decades in deeds of land about the Massachusetts end of the pond by owners, many of whom knew Dr. Douglas and some of whom may have seen his map. The name Walamp did not endure probably because it could not be established against local tradition without the schools, which did not flourish in this vicinity until after Caleb Harris had published his map in 1795 showing "Allum Pond." It is certain that the earliest Massachusetts settlers also used the word "Allum," for in Dr. Douglas' own deed from the Province of Massachusetts. we find that his land extended "southerly on the Province or Colony line which runs through a great Pond called Allum Pond." There are also facts which cast grave doubt on the accuracy of the spelling on the Douglas map. On this map, Badluck Pond, 2 miles northerly of Wallum Pond, is spelled Budluck Pond; Nipmuck River is spelled Nutmeg River, and Hemlock Brook is spelled Hembeck Brook. These stupid mistakes could hardly have been made by Dr. Douglas. The map was published in England after his death and these errors were almost certainly due to the illegibility of the manuscripts or to carelessness of the printers¹. There is strong probability that the illegible handwriting or carelessness which converted Badluck into Budluck, Nipmuck into Nutmeg and Hemlock into Hembeck also corrupted Allum into Walamp. Although the name Walamp did not endure, there is evidence that it was, perhaps, inadvertently changed into Wallum. For instance, in 1802, when Jonah Brown bought land of John Hunt, the first bound is located "By the east side of Wallomp Pond so called," a name obviously derived from the Douglas spelling, as it contained both the initial IV and the terminal p. When Jonah Brown sold this land in 1811, Wallomp was changed to Wallum in describing the same bound. On April 25th, 1812, the Burrillville Town Council records refer to Wallum Pond. Whether the name Wallum crept from the Massachusetts deeds into com-

¹ A committee of the General Court of Massachusetts found Dr. Douglas' map very erroneous and recommended against its publication, Province laws 1753-4, Chapter 133.

mon speech and on to the map makers or whether the latter were advised by some student of the Indian language that Wallum was preferable to Allum, or whether some of the map makers were influenced by seeing the Douglas map, is unknown, but at all events, after 1855, Wallum established its place on maps by Walling and others and was taught to the children of the Wallum Pond School after 1860. The name Wallum gained ground slowly in common speech among the natives during the latter part of the 19th century until by 1905 Allum was used only by people past middle life.

In that it has been handed down from the old settlers and is found in the oldest and most reliable documents, Allum (Allam or Allom) is preferable to Wallum. Allum is almost certainly the word which was received from the Nipmucks of this vicinity so far as it could be accurately understood, pronounced and spelled by the men who settled these parts. The opinion expressed by modern students of the Algonquin language that Wallum was more nearly correct than Allum, will be presented later.

Opinions as to the Meaning of Allum.

Trumbull, the Connecticut historian, states that Allum or Wallum Pond took its name from "A Quinebaug Captain whose name, meaning Fox (Peq. A'Wumps)¹ was variously written Allums, Allumps, Hyems, Iams, Hyenps." In view of the similarity of the name of Allum Pond to that of the Sachem, Allumps, of Trumbull's opinion that it was named after this chief, which has been accepted by other historians, and of Trumbull's reputation as historian and student of the Indian language, the life of Allumps will be appended in some detail².

It appears that after leaving Pawtuckquachooge in the Narragansett Country, Allumps made his home in Egunk, Conn., near the Rhode Island line, about 24 miles as the crow flies, south of Allum Pond. Had he ever lived at Allum Pond, it is unlikely that this fact would not have been mentioned by his

¹ Indian Names in Connecticut. J. H. Trumbull, page 3.

² See appendix.

Indian contemporaries at the legislative investigation, as they were particularly questioned as to his residence, Passagcogon recalling the one year which Allumps spent West of the Quinebaug. If in addition to this documentary evidence, we consider that there is no local tradition that Allumps ever lived here, that it was not customary for Indians to name places after individuals, and that there was another Alum Pond in Sturbridge and still another in Brimfield, Mass., Trumbull's statement that this pond was named after Allumps, is, to say the least, improbable.

Mr. Sidney S. Rider, in his "Lands of Rhode Island," stated that Allum Pond was known to the earliest Englishmen there as Awamp's Pond; Awumps was a Nipmuck Sachem whom these English found there. The name became in time Allum's Pond and at last Wallum." Mr. Rider was unable to cite¹ authority for the above statements and there appears to be no written evidence or local tradition that Wallum Pond was ever called Awamp's Pond or that a Nipmuck Sachem by that name ever lived here.

In his "Key." Roger Williams gives Alum as the Nipmuck word for dog, but there is no rock or striking object about the pond which resembles a dog. While not in accordance with the usual custom² of the Indians to name a pond after an animal not naturally found nearby, it might have been done if some unusual incident in connection with a dog had happened here. However, the fact that two other ponds to the westward should be named Alum makes it highly improbable that these three ponds were named after dogs. There is also good authority for the view that the word Alum, like many Indian words, had more than one meaning.

Wal was a root frequently used by the Nipmucks of this vicinity in naming persons as well as places, thus: Walomachin, Walumpaw, Walowononck, etc.

In Ruttenber's Indian Geographical Names, the meaning of the word Allum as it occurs in the phrase, Allum Rocks, is thus

¹ Mr. Rider's statement to writer.

² Mr. William B. Cabot, in a personal communication to the writer so states as pertains to the present Algonquins of Labrador.

explained in a footnote on page 41: "'Wallam'—the initial 'W' dropped—literally 'Paint Rocks' a formation of Igneous rocks which, by exposure, become disintegrated into soft earthy masses. There are several varieties. The Indians used the disintegrated masses for paint. The name is met in some forms in all Algonquin dialects."

In his Key to the Indian Language, Roger Williams gives the following Indian words and their definitions:

Aunakesu He is painted Aunakeuck They are painted

On page 183 of Dexter's edition of the Key, the word "Wunnam" is defined as "red earth" and as "Their red painting which they most delight in." If the Nipmuck 1 be substituted for the Narragansett n, Wunnam is changed into Wullam. In the translation of the sentence, "Jezebel painted her face," II. Kings 9:30, in Eliot's Bible, no words or syllables occur which have any similarity to Wallum and the same may be said of the passages in Jeremiah, 22:14, and Ezekiel, 23:40, which refer to painting. Mr. Lincoln M. Kinnicutt¹ quotes Mr. Harry Wright as saying that "the Indians about Hudson Bay used the word Woloman or Wolomon as meaning something red, not as a synonym for red, but for something colored red. The gum which they use on their boats and which they color red, they call Woloman." In the translation of the words "dyed red," in Eliot's Bible, Exodus 25:5, 26:14, 35:7 and 35:23, Woloman is not used, but the more common word for red, Masquodsu. In Eliot's Bible the word "Wunne" is frequently used to express the English word "good," and "Wunnetu" to express the word "beautiful." If the Nipmuck 1 be substituted for the Massachusetts n, Wunne is converted into Wulle, which is very similar to Wallum, especially if it be considered that the Indians had no written language, the settlers writing down the word as it sounded with considerable variation of the spelling, depending on who wrote it. In defining the word "Wallum," Ruttenber comments further as follows: "It is from a generic root written in different dialects, Walla, Wara, etc., meaning 'fine, hand-

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¹ Indian Names of Places in Worcester County.

some, good,' etc., from which in the Delaware, Dr. Brinton derived Walam 'Painted,' 'from the sense to be fine in appearance, to dress, which the Indians accomplished by painting their bodies." Cabot¹ also states that "the bottom meaning of the word Allum is fine, beautiful." As no red rocks, soil or other materials which the Indians could have used for paint have so far been found about the Allum ponds, it is not unlikely that these ponds were given the name Allum in its primary meaning. Wallum Pond is attractive in general appearance and is noted for the clarity and purity of its water, its outlet stream having been known as Clear River from the earliest times. Even in a country where good water is plentiful, one must go a long way to find such transparent pond water. This remarkably fine quality or clarity of the water is the most striking feature common to the three Alum Ponds, and these qualities should have impressed the Indians as much as their white successors. There is, in fact, a tradition or belief² in Brimfield that the Indian word Alum as applied to these ponds meant "clear water." Assuming that "Allum" or "Wallum" Pond meant to the Indian "fine" pond, "good" pond, or "beautiful" pond, it was an appropriate name for these ponds. While at this date there can be no certainty what the Indians meant by using the word Allum or Wallum in connection with this pond, the evidence favors the definition last given.

Indian Relics and Traditions.

A tradition³ has been handed down from early times that the Indians had corn fields on Wallum Pond Hill and that the settlers. on opening the hills of corn, found sand therein, which the Indians had carried from the beach at the northern end of the pond and which they believed aided the growth of the corn. As the soil about here is wet and heavy, it seems likely that the

¹ In a personal communication to the writer.

² Information obtained from Mr. W. C. Davenport, of East Brimfield, Mass.

³ Statements to the writer by Seth Ross (1829several men in his youth, by Sylvester Angell from his father, Brown Angell, and by Barton Jacobs from Otis Buxton.

sand might have given their corn an earlier start. About a third of a mile eastward from the Singleton place on Wallum Pond Hill, a ridge of gravel about ten feet high and fifty feet wide at the base, rises abruptly from the low land and extends about 1.500 feet southerly from the Massachusetts-Rhode Island line across the highway leading from the Singleton place to the Tasseltop road. There is a tradition^{1 2} that this ridge which lies between the swamp by the brook on the east and south and the southern part of Bear Swamp on the west, was utilized by the Indians for a fort. The Indian forts were frequently adjacent to swamps, and this ridge possessed great natural strength for such purpose. Many Indian arrow heads and highly polished stones of various colors about 1/4 inch square and 2 or 3 inches long have been ploughed out of the narrow strip of land between the ridge and the brook³. A few hundred feet to the eastward of the ridge on the old Eddy place was the "Island Lot," so called because many years ago a small brook dividing southerly of the house and reuniting about 800 feet northerly enclosed several acres of land with tiny streams during high water. On the westerly side of this lot as late as 1880 were a few mounds spared the plough by Daniel Buxton because they were Indian graves*. Many Indian arrow heads were found on the Ezra Stone (Friery) farm westerly of the gravel ridge⁵, and on the Charles Arnold farm⁶. Arrow heads were found but with less frequency by those who ploughed the lands near the Sanatorium.

On the Ernest Singleton (Asahel Aldrich) place is a large egg shaped stone, a photograph of which is shown. Old people claimed that this stone was formerly on the Israel Aldrich farm on the northern end of Wallum Pond Hill, and

- ⁴ Wm. Buxton to writer.
- ⁵ James Riley to writer.
- ⁶ Fred Arnold to writer.

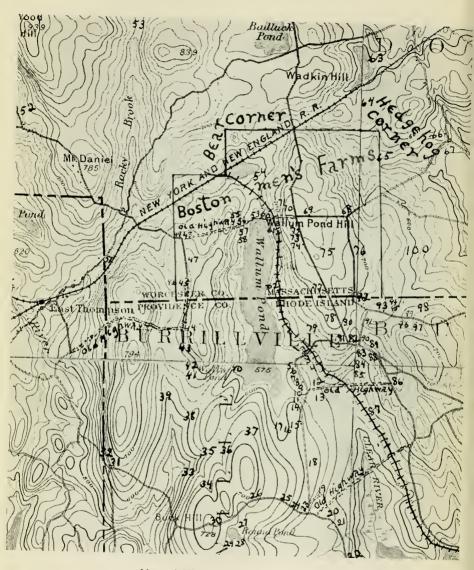
¹ Received from Lippitt Eddy (1755-1838) by Daniel Buxton, given to writer by the latter's son, Wm. Buxton.

² Levi Brown and Jos. Bowdish (1810-1900), through Nancy Buxton Anderson to writer.

³ Ellen Buxton Church to writer.



Wallum Pond Indian Relics. See Page 40



Map of Wallum Pond and Vicinity

KEY TO MAP.

100 places mentioned in the text and numbered on the map.

1. Ballard's House 2. Store Blacksmith Shop Cotton House Gristmill Sawmill Cotton Mill Shingle Mill Woolen Mill woolen Mill
Turning Lathe
Middle Mill
Sylvester Angell's House
Angell's Store
Kimball House
Timothy Jenne House
Robbins House
Stote Sanatorium 10. State Sanatorium Jenne Graveyard 11. Seth Jenne House 12. Lower Sawmill 13. A. Phillips House 14. Sanborn House 15. Green House 16. King House 17. Cranberry Bog 18. Peters House 19. Wells House 20. Whipple Angell House Whipple Angel 1.
 Chase House
 R. Angell Tavern
 Scott Cabin
 Porter House
 Ward House
 Twist House
 Twist House Money Rocks
 Robbins Cabin 29. Stanfield House Wm. Trask House
 Whiting House
 Whiting House
 Logee Tavern
 "Boiling" Spring
 Trask Brook
 Goat Rock
 Goat Rock 36. Sawmill Pond 37. Badger Mountain 38. Cold Spring Brook 39. Leeson Brook 40. Gaucher Camp Gaucher Camp
 Coon Cave
 Rattlesnake Ledge
 Worsley House
 Whitman House
 Starr House
 Thayer Cabin

- 47. Buxton House48. Mason House49. Blacksmith Shop
- 50. Coffee House 51. The Brass Ball 52. The Gore
- 53. Chamberlain Pond
- 54. Aldrich Pond
- 55. Snake Den
- 56. Boarding House 57. The Ice House 58. Brick Yard 59. Dyer Camp

- 60. Inman Camp
- 61. Granger Camp 62. Singleton Camp 63. Moss Pond

- 64. Indian Rock
- 65. Lovers Rock
- 66. Mormon Church 67. Indian Camp Site 68. Bowdish House

- 69. School House 70. Israel Aldrich House
- Graveyard
 Vickers House
- 73. Chas. Arnold House
- 74. A. Ritchie House
- 75. Bear Swamp
- 76. Fairfield Place 77. Olney Angell House 78. Singleton House 79. Graveyard

- 80. Enoch Angell House
- 81. School House82. School House83. Tannery
- 83. Tannery
 84. Asahel Alger House
 85. Adam White House
 86. Samuel White House
 87. Quarries
 88. Joshua Alger House
 89. Preserved Alger House
 90. George Stone House
 91. Stone Gravevard
- 91. Stone Graveyard 92. Jonah Brown House
- 93. Ezra Stone House
- 94. Gravel Ridge
- 95. Indian Fort Site

- 96. Eddy Graveyard
 97. Dutee Eddy House
 98. Island Lot
 99. Indian Graves Site
 100. "The Hemlock" Woods

that it was an Indian corn grinding stone. The stone appears to be a granite similar in character to the granite boulders of this vicinity. It has a remarkably symmetrical ovoid form with a fairly smooth surface, evidently shaped and finished by human agency. One end of the stone has a slightly hollowed facet about six inches in diameter. From one side of this facet, a thin piece measuring about three by two inches has been chipped off. As the stone rests on its flattened end, it measures thirteen inches in height and fourteen and a half inches in width at the widest part. Measured at right angles to its vertical axis, as it sets on end, it has a maximum circumference of forty-two and one-half inches. The weight of the stone is 130 pounds. On one side appears the figure of a human head, cut in about one-sixteenth of an inch. The part about the nose and lips appears imperfectly drawn. The lines shown in the photograph were traced with chalk, excepting the line of the back which extends a little farther than shown in the photograph. On one side of the stone opposite to the drawing of the head, is the letter A, the sides of the A being about one and one-half inches long. The letter surely, and the figure probably, was not produced by uncivilized red men. Stones smaller but similar in shape are still used by backward peoples, in husking or grinding grain¹. It is very unlikely that the settlers would fashion or use a stone in this way, as there were grain mills in this section when the Wallum Pond lands were cleared. It appears to be what tradition claims for it, an Indian corn grinding stone. Although so heavy, it rolls easily and grinds corn well, as has been recently demonstrated. The size and weight of the stone are evidence in favor of a large and permanent Indian population in this vicinity, as a small population would not need it, and without beasts of burden, it would have been impracticable for Indians to transport it.

The boulder on which the ovoid stone was photographed is a quadrilateral shaped rock about eleven feet on each side, the top being between four and five feet above the ground. It is located about 600 feet westerly of the James H. Singleton place

¹ See The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. XLI., Page 211.

on the southwestern slope of Wallum Pond Hill, and about 1 mile from where the ovoid stone was found. Near the eastern side of the flat top of the boulder is an area about three by four feet depressed below the surface from two to five inches, and suggesting a fitting place for the use of the corn grinding stone. There is no convincing evidence of the use of the boulder by the Indians, and no traditions in regard to it, are known to exist. The pestle shown in the photograph, now in the possession of the writer, was found by Alexander Ritchie on his farm on Wallum Pond Hill in 1906.

Indian relics were frequently found in the vicinity of the house at one time occupied by Reuben Fairfield, situated on the highway leading easterly from the Israel Aldrich place on Wallum Pond Hill and about 2 miles therefrom. About 300 feet easterly of this house is a small graveyard where Simeon Herendeen (1743-1820), a Revolutionary soldier, was buried. Herendeen owned the land running northward from the graveyard to the house of his son-in-law, Jonathan Marcy, and this property has been continuously in possession of this family, including the present owner, Edwin Esten, the great-grandson. The latter's mother told him that the Indian cornfields were located between the Marcy house and the graveyard and showed him two rocks where the Indians ground their corn. One of these boulders, near the corner of a stone wall about 30 rods southeasterly of the Marcy house, was inspected by the writer in 1920. It showed a shallow depression about 18 inches in diameter. Near this rock, a stone pestle was found by Mr. Esten, about 1855. When a child, Mr. Esten was shown several poles about 5 inches in diameter which according to the family tradition, were fragments of wigwam poles. About 100 feet easterly of the graveyard, is a large "boiling" spring said to have been used by the Indians at this camp site. It is likely that, after 1800, some of the Indians belonging to their settlements in Natick, Webster and Woodstock, were allowed to camp temporarily at some of their old sites and that it was the poles remaining from these camps which were shown Mr. Esten. About a mile and a half northeasterly from the northern end of Wallum Pond and about

100 feet southerly of the Grand Trunk road bed, is a large flat topped ledge called Indian Rock¹. According to Mrs. Syra Jepherson (Patty Pease), there were at one time Indian cornfields easterly of this rock and also to the northward on the easterly side of what is now Moss Pond. About 1853, she showed Edward Esten two holes in this rock which had been used by the Indians for grinding corn. Several years later, part of this ledge was quarried and one of the holes destroyed. The remaining hole was shown to the writer by Mr. Esten in 1920. It forms a shallow basin, about one foot in diameter, and the rock has the appearance of having been worn down by artificial means. In the centre of the depression is an oval hole about 5 inches by 3 inches by 4 inches deep. From these relics and traditions, it is certain that Wallum Pond and vicinity were much frequented by the Indians.

Walomachin or Black James.

Before 1674, the Indians of several villages a few miles to the westward in Thompson, Woodstock and Webster, had been converted to Christianity by Indian missionaries trained by the Rev. John Eliot. Major Daniel Gookin2, the Indian agent of Massachusetts, had appointed Black James constable over the "Praying Towns," empowering him to apprehend delinquents, to bring those guilty of minor offences before Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck country, and to bring those guilty of idolatry and powwowing before Gookin. Black James at . first won high praise from Gookin as being "zealous to suppress sin," but, on the outbreak of King Philip's War, he joined the enemy. By convincing the Indians outside the "Praying Towns" that they would all be killed³ because they were not praving Indians and by forcing the praving Indians to join the hostiles or be killed by them⁴, he exercised great influence over the Indians of this section. Before the war, he lived at Chau-

¹ Many old people of this vicinity transmit the tradition that this was an Indian rock.

² Gookin's Narrative. Col. Mass. Hist. Soc. First Series Vol. 1.

³ Temple's History of North Brookfield, p. 74.

⁴ Drake's Book of the Indians, book II., p. 118.

bunagungamun (Webster) and on Oct. 23, 1700, he sold 240 acres of land on the north end of lake "Chaubungum," situated about five miles northwesterly of the northern end of Wallum Pond, the plot accompanying the deed showing the location of the lake, fort, etc.¹ As late as 1702, Black James plotted mischief with other Indians near Brookfield². Walomachin was the most important Indian to deed that part of the Nipmuck country embracing the lands about the northern end of Wallum Pond to the Colony of Massachusetts.

The Southern Nipmucks.

On May 11, 1681, Massachusetts authorized William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley to investigate the Indian titles to the Nipmuck country and report. About a month later, after due notice, a meeting of the Indian claimants was called in Cambridge with Mr. Eliot as interpreter. The Indians were found "willing enough to claim the whole country, but litigious and doubtful among themselves," and were therefore dismissed to settle their differences. Before the second meeting in the following September, the principal claimants were "warned" to travel in company with the commissioners as far and as much as one week would allow. On Oct. 17th, Stoughton and Dudley reported to the legislature that the Southern Nipmuck country claimed by Black James & Co. was "capable of good settlement if not too scant of meadow though uncertain what will fall within the bounds if our line be questioned." After due authorization, Stoughton and Dudley bought for 20 pounds, Feb. 10, 1682, of "Black James & Co.," a triangular tract of land bounded on the east by the Blackstone or Nipmuck River, on the southeast by a line of marked trees, on the south by the south line of Massachusetts, on the north by an imaginary line four miles north of the Boston-Springfield path and coming to a point on the west on the Connecticut line near Springfield, reserving for the Indians a tract of land five miles square after-

¹ Land records in the office of the Secretary of State, Boston, Mass. Archives, Vol. 31, p. 46, 47, Map and Plan 3rd series, Vol. 32, p. 16.

² Letter of John Perry to Gov. Dudley. Mass. Archives, Vol. 70, p. 618, 619.

ward set off in Oxford and Thompson. The names of the						
Indians who signed or subsequently agreed to the deed were:						
Black James, alias Walomachin Sean Jasco						
Benjamin	Wabequalan					
James	Sebaquat					
Simon Wolomp	Madaquamin					
Tascomp	Cook Robin					
Sasequejasuck	Pamphosit					
Pomponechum	Naontock					
Papomsham	Nanatoho					
Wolowononck	Aspenaw					
Pe Pegous	Peter Pacataw					
John Awagwon	John Hownaheteammen					
Sosoquaw	Mattaomp					
Tobi Alataquish	Mat Waisk					
James Wiser	Wawunhit					
James Acojock	Sam M. Seeg					
Welompaw	Cotoosonk					
Papeunquanant	Acadaquami					

On May 18th, 1682, a second deed was signed by one Indian whose name does not appear on the first one, namely, Sewossasco. Twelve other Indians who, though absent at the signing of the first deed, had apparently authorized their signatures, also signed this second deed. These deeds obviously included the northern or Massachusetts end of Wallum Pond and the adjacent lands. The northern Nipmuck country toward Wachusett was not bought at this time because the Commissioners could not find Indians "meet to be treated with thereabouts." The care taken by the Commissioners to make the titles valid by securing signatures from the Indians of each locality warrants the assumption that the 37 signers of the deeds were the head men of this region, probably the heads of families. If we so assume and also assume, as did Gookin and Eliot, that the Indian family averaged five members, there were in 1682, in the Southern Nipmuck country of Massachusetts, at least 185 Indians of local Nipmuck origin in addition to Narragansetts and others

Wawaus, or James Printer

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Waumshk

who are known to have emigrated here. Although northwestern Rhode Island was clearly Nipmuck country, this colony did not recognize the Nipmuck claims and it is doubtful whether there were any Indian deeds to settlers about Wallum Pond on the Rhode Island side of the line. The only Indian deed in Burrillville known to the writer is that of John Hoaneniuhesio to Edward Salisbury of land near Herring Pond, dated March 8, 1774. A. F. Brown, in his article on Douglas¹, states that, "prior to the year 1708, the territory now embraced within the limits of the town of Douglas was an unbroken forest inhabited by a few Indian stragglers from the Narragansett or Nipmuck Tribes. One small band occupied the extreme easterly part of the town, another the southern part and still another band were located northerly of the centre." Some of the Indians are said to have died of smallpox², which, according to Emerson³, was epidemic in Douglas in 1792 and 1825. Descendants of these Indians continued to live in Douglas, some of them in the vicinity of Wallum Pond until well into the last century. They made and peddled baskets and other handiwork. A few intermarried with whites and more with negroes.

Patty Pease.

One of the last of the Nipmucks reputed to be of pure blood was Patty Pease. At some time prior to 1835, she lived with her mother, who was said to have been a medicine woman, in a cabin northerly of the Abel Parker sawmill. This sawmill site is northerly of the highway running easterly toward Douglas trom Wallum Pond Hill and about a mile from the latter. About 300 feet northwesterly of the mill dam, is a large boulder which has been quarried and was the site of the courtship of this Indian girl by her white lover, Syra Jepherson. After their marriage, they lived about a mile from Tasseltop. She often visited Badluck Pond to gather material for baskets. There was a tradition among the old settlers of this vicinity that Badluck Pond was so named

¹ Hamilton Hurd's History of Worcester Co., p. 1395.

² Statement of Joseph Wallis, given to the writer by his son, W. R. Wallis.

³ Emerson's History of Douglas, p. 62.

by the Indians because one of them was drowned there¹. Patty told Edward Esten that this pond was given an Indian name meaning bad luck because an Indian with his squaw and papoose were drowned in attempting to cross it in a canoe. Three sons of Patty Pease Jepherson entered the Union armies during the Civil War and two of her grandsons with decidedly Indian cast of features were employed in the construction of the hospital at Wallum Pond in 1916.

The Boston Men.

In response to a petition, the General Court of Massachusetts, in November, 1722, appointed a committee to sell 3,000 acres of common land in what is now southern Douglas. The committee, consisting of Paul Dudley, John Quincy and Benjamin Whittmore, held an auction at the Green Dragon Tavern in Boston on Wednesday, the 3rd day of April, 1723. A 1100-acre tract near the present Uxbridge line was sold to Dr. William Douglas and associates for 4 shillings per acre and a 1900-acre tract adjacent to Wallum Pond was sold to Benjamin Bronsdon and associates for 3 shillings, 3 pence per acre. When the deeds were made out the next day, it appeared that Dr. Douglas' and Mr. Bronsdon's associates were the same and that both tracts were to be divided equally among the following six men: Dr. William Douglas, Benjamin Bronsdon, John Binning, Abijah Savage, Andrew Tyler and William Tyler. To distinguish this tract from previous grants to Sherburn men, it was called "The Boston Men's Farms." The bounds of this 1900-acre tract as stated in the original deed are rather hard to locate, but in the settlement of the estate of Andrew Tyler, these bounds are given as follows: "Beginning at a white oak tree in the Colony line North 61/2° East 545 rods to Hedgehog Corner, then west 31/2° North 500 rods to Bear Corner, then south $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west 156 rods to a stone heap on a knowle, then west 180 rods to a white oak tree, then South $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west 400 rods to the Colony line, then on the Colony line to Walomp pond then bound round the North end

¹ Statement to the writer by William Church, which information was received from Salem Walling.

of said pond till it comes to the Colony line again, then on said line to the bound first mentioned." From a deed of Jeremiah Green to John Hunt, it is possible to fix the first bound as 372 rods from the point where the Colony line crosses the East bank of Wallum Pond, and the 1900-acre tract is located approximately as shown on the map. The original plot of the division of the 1900-acre tract among the 6 men is not known to be in existence but all the lots ran eastward from the east shore of the pond more than a mile, a considerable distance east of the highway over Wallum Pond Hill. John Binning, a merchant, had the lot next the colony line. After his death, the land passed to his only child and heir, Sarah, who had married Jeremiah Green, a Boston distiller.

Dr. William Douglas (1691-1752), a Scotchman, who arrived in Boston in 1718, established a lucrative practice, and was brought into considerable prominence by his Historical Summary, his writings on vaccination and other medical subjects. His map of New England has previously been alluded to. Dr. Douglas acquired much land in Boston, in Douglas and other parts of Worcester County. In 1750, he gave 30 acres of land and a dwelling house to the inhabitants of what was then New Sherborn and the people of this district gave the town his name. After Dr. Douglas' death, his lands in this vicinity passed to his sister, Catherine Carr. Andrew Tyler (1692-1767), a goldsmith and merchant, had married Miriam, daughter of William Pepperell¹, Baronet, the famous Governor of Massachusetts. Andrew's brother, William Tyler (1687-1758), a brazier, had married Jane, Miriam's sister. Andrew Tyler's 131-acre lot, 62 rods wide, lay north of the present Ritchie place on Wallum Pond Hill. After his death, this lot went to his granddaughter, Miriam. A part was later sold to Caleb Whiting for nonpayment of taxes, and the remainder, Miriam sold to Dr. Jennison. Another lot west of the Pond and the Cedar Swamp lot northwest of the pond was left by Andrew Tyler to his daughter, Mary. The warrant for the division of Andrew

¹ Parson's Life of Pepperell, pp. 31-32.

Tyler's estate was dated May 7, 1767. William Tyler had purchased Benjamin Bronsdon's share in the tract. Some of William Tyler's land lay about the northern end of the pond. After his death, his lands passed to his son, Joseph. Abijah Savage's lot lay next the colony line extending westward from the west shore of the pond. None of the Boston men lived on their Wallum Pond lands.

The Rhode Island Proprietors.

The original deed which Roger Williams obtained from the Narragansett Sachems on March 24, 1638, did not cover the Wallum Pond section; but, by subsequent deeds, colonial charters and boundary agreements with Massachusetts and Connecticut, this land was finally confirmed to Rhode Island. As desirable settlers came and contributed funds to the Colony they were voted into the company until there were 101 proprietors who divided up the lands and sold to other settlers. The land was divided and sold a little at a time, some of it being held in common over 100 years. Nearly all the land west of the seven-mile line (a north and south line 7 miles west of Providence) was held in common or as undivided land up to 1700. Between 1705 and 1729, there were 10 different divisions of lands west of the seven-mile line among the proprietors¹. It should be understood that many of the proprietors were Providence men of considerable means who only held land as a speculation and who did not care to live on it. Squatters or tenants sometimes improved the lands. The first deed or lay out of land in the vicinity of Allum Pond so far noticed in the records of Providence is given below.

"Paper No. 16853."2

"Layed out to JoSeph WilkiSson and William Hopkins one hundred acres of land on ye weSt Side of ye Seuen Mile line and within ye TownShip of providence and neer a pond Called allam pond and bounded as followeth beginning at a white oake tree being ve northweSterly Corner then Rainging SouthweSt

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¹ See Town Paper No. 17885, book 39D, page 65. ² Providence Town Papers Vol. 39A.

Sixty poles to a walnut tree marked and Stones layed about it then Rainging SoutheEterly one hundred and ninty two poles to a CheStnutt tree marked and Stones layed about it then Rainging northeSterly to a white oake tree being being one hundred and twenty poles then Rainging upon a Strate line SouthEStorly one hundred and ninty two poles to ye first mentioned bound the aboueSd bounds are all marked and Stones layed about them

Layd out to William Hopkins fifty acres of land on the WeSt Side of ye Seuen mile line and within ye Township of providence and bounded as followeth beginning at a white oake tree marked then Rainging weSterly forty poles to a read oake tree marked then Rainging Southerly one hundred and twenty poles to a white oake tree pine tree marked then Rainging eSte ninty Eight poles to a white oake tree marked, then Rainging north one hundred and twenty poles to ye firSt mentioned white oake tree, being Situate alittlebout a mile from allom pond and about SoutheSterly from ye Same and was layed out on ye origonal of () and upon ye fifty acre diuiSion on ye weSt Side of ye aforeSd Seuen mile line which was agreed upon by the purcherSors layed out ye Eigth Day of apriel in ye yeare one thouSand Seuen hundred and ten by me"

On April 11, 1729, Elisha Knowlton surveyed a lot of land for Nicholas Lapham in the 140 acre division. This land was some distance east of Allum Pond and next the Colony line, probably near Nipmauge brook. John Whipple was living on this land when he bought it of Lapham, Nov. 27, 1746.

Nicholas Power 3rd, by his will dated March 16, 1732, disposed of 1294 acres of land in Gloucester west of the seven mile line. This tract of land when laid out extended roughly from the Clear River outlet of Wallum Pond on the north, southward about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Little Worth cedar swamp below the corner of the Buck Hill Road. It was about a mile wide east and west and included practically all the original 250 acre tract later purchased for the State Sanatorium. The right¹ of Nicholas Power 3rd, to these 1294 acres was based on the original purchase rights of his great-grandfather, Nicholas Power,

¹ See deed of Power to Gibbs, Gloucester Records.

and of Francis Weston, Thomas Roberts and Benjamin Smith. Francis Weston was one of the 12 grantors of the initial deed¹. He was captured with the Gortonists at Warwick, carried to Boston, September. 1643, brought before the Court Nov. 3rd, sent to prison at Dorchester, released in March, 1644, and banished both from Massachusetts and Warwick. He returned to Warwick and died there prior to June 4, 1645. His nephew and heir, Richard Harcut, sold his commonage rights to Nicholas Power about 1650².

A statement to the effect that Nicholas Power died Aug. 25, 1657, and had made no will in writing, is signed by Roger Williams and four others as members of the town council. They ordered that his son, Nicholas Power, 2nd, the next day after he became 21 years of age, should have "One Wayunkeage Right by Vertue of his Father's Town Right, a five acre share," etc. Nicholas Power, 2nd, was killed by the Indians Dec. 19, 1675, in the Great Swamp fight. Thomas Roberts died in Newport after 1672 without an heir, his estates going to Christopher Roberts of Gloucester, England³. Benjamin Smith had a full purchase right in 1665. It seems probable that the Roberts and Smith rights were acquired by Nicholas Power, 2nd, between 1670 and the time of his death. The purchase rights afterward used in acquiring the Allum Pond estate were left to his son, Nicholas Power, 3rd, who has previously been referred to. Under the date of December 31, 1722, in the Moses Brown papers, is a record of the sale by Power of a negro man Cuffey. Nicholas Power, 3rd, was a man of considerable importance in the colony. The records show that he was one of the assistants in the General Assembly in 1720 and Deputy from Providence to the Assembly in 1722. He evidently allowed his purchase rights in the division of lands west of the seven-mile line to accumulate until they entitled him to 1294 acres, which could not have happened before 1723. In his will, dated March 16, 1732, his son, Nicholas, was directed to select the best 200

¹ E. R. Vol. III., p. 90.

² E. R. Vol. IV., p. 231.

³ Richard Smith appointed administrator Dec. 5, 1679.

acres and his son, Joseph, the next best 200 acres before the rest of the estate was disposed of. Nicholas Power, 4th, bought Joseph's 200 acres, and, May 24, 1743, with his mother, sold the entire 1294 acres to Dr. Robert Gibbs, one of the prominent physicians of the Colony, 500 pounds being the sum named. Dr. Gibbs sold 96½ acres of this land to Jeremiah Ballard, of Smithfield, Sept. 30, 1766, another lot west of Buck Hill corner to one Thayer, and the rest of this estate was broken up among his children after his death. The partition of the Gibbs estate by the Inferior Court took place in June, 1770.

The Early Settlers.

The 961/2 acres bought of Dr. Gibbs by Jeremiah Ballard, extended roughly from just north of the natural outlet of the pond, back of O'Neil's Camp to a short distance below the present Sanborn house and included the water privileges of Clear River and the site of the present sanatorium buildings. Ballard had doubtless been impressed with the value of the water privileges at the outlet of the pond while surveying the Capt. John Whipple farm on Allum Pond Hill and he must be given credit for first developing the water power. Ballard built a small one-story dwelling house, a cornmill and a sawmill west of the Clear River bridge and cleared a small piece of land, as, in his deed of sale, fences are mentioned. The dwelling house and mills were probably built soon after his purchase of the property in 1766, as pioneers were coming into this section rapidly and they were very dependent on grist mills. Old residents loved to tell of the settlers coming to this grist mill in dead of winter, each man on snowshoes with a bag of corn on his back.

The Allom Pond Farm, so called, (recently the James H. Singleton Farm) was originally surveyed from common land by Jeremiah Ballard and Thomas Herendeen for Capt. John Whipple, a prominent Providence man of that period. Whipple, like Power, had evidently allowed his purchase rights in the first seven divisions of land to accumulate until after 1723, when he was entitled to 323 acres. The farm was said to contain 330 acres and extended to the Colony line on the North, to the pond on the west, and to Power's land below the present railroad on

the south. Capt. Whipple sold the farm which had previously been leased to Jeremiah Brown, to his son, Joseph Whipple, Jan. 4, 1768. John Howland bought the Capt. Whipple farm of the latter's son, Joseph, in 1770, and sold in small lots to William, James, Joseph, and Thos. Howland, Ezra Stone, John Alger and others who cleared the lands and made their home there. Ezra Stone lived where the stone house is now located, half a mile east of the present Singleton house.

In February, 1773, Jacob Eddy bought a lot of Joseph Eddy and built a house on what is usually known as the King place. about a half a mile south of the sanatorium on the location of the present vegetable garden. Hoziel Hopkins bought this place of Jacob Eddy, Oct. 29, 1773, and lived there nearly 20 years. One of Joseph Eddy's hunting experiences in this region is thus recorded in the proceedings of the General Assembly, Feb. 26, 1739-40: "Whereas Joseph Eady of Gloucester, in the County of Providence, produced a certificate from Andrew Brown, Esq., a Justice of the Peace, in said Gloucester, that he had presented to his view an old wolf's and seven young creature's heads. which the said Eady made oath, were wolve's heads, and that he killed the old wolf and destroyed the young ones, all within this government; It is thereupon resolved, that the bounty on the old wolf's head be allowed, and no more, it being uncertain whether the young creatures were wolves or not. God save the King." The reader will readily appreciate this legislative dilemma, but must draw his own conclusions as to whether the difficulty was due to the cunning of Joseph Eddy, the scepticism of Justice Brown, or to the wolf with atypical offspring.

The Highway.

On April 13, 1772, on the petition of Enoch Whipple and others for a highway from Allum Pond Hill to Pascoag, the Glocester Town Council appointed Joseph Eddy, Jonathan Harris and Thomas Herendeen, a committee to lay out the road and report. On October 19th of the same year, the return of the highway was accepted. The highway leading by the Sanatorium buildings was built shortly before June, 1793, when it is mentioned in an old deed as a new road. Randall Angell said that previously there had been a cart path from Ballard's mill past his house to Pascoag over much the same course as the present highway. Before Burrillville was set off from Glocester, Courts and Town meetings were sometimes held in the Smith Greene house. (First one on the back road to the Putnam pike.)¹

¹ Mrs. George Sly so quoted her father in a statement to the writer.

[CONTINUED IN JULY NUMBER]

Abstracts of Early East Greenwich Wills

CONTRIBUTED BY NORMAN M. ISHAM AND HOWARD W. PRESTON

[CONTINUED FROM JANUARY NUMBER]

Bennett, William,

August 31, 1737; September 7, 1737.

Ex.: Sarah Bennett, widow. Appraisers: Stuckley Westcott, John Spencer, Peleg Spencer. Inventory, 500 pounds, 13s. 11d.

I, 185

Cunningham, James, mariner,

December 7, 1737; December 21, 1737.

(late of Spanishtown, West Indies)

To wife, Elizabeth, one house and furniture.

" son, James, my negro boy.

" daughter, Elizabeth, one negro girl.

The residue of my estate to my son, James.

" my brother, John Markee, my sword.

I recommend to my children the care of my father, Phillip Markee, and my brother, John Markee.

Ex.: Phillip Markee, John Markee, both of Spanishtown, and John Brown of Newport, Peleg Spencer and his son, Benjamin Spencer of East Greenwich.

Test: Robert Estes & Jonathan Remington, Clement Cooper. Inventory, 912 pounds, 19s. 9d.

I, 189

Wever, Clement, yeoman,

October 16, 1736; April 8, 1738.

- To my son. Jonathan Wever, and heirs, farm where on I now live, which is 137 acres, with all houseing, dwelling, fencings, and orchards, and all appurtenances there unto belonging. One house lot in East Greenwich, all rights in Mishneck Swamp, and Menhungenet Swamp and West Cenage, and all my other out lands, except those otherwise mentioned.
 - " my son, Clement, and heirs, one farm and lot of 15 acres, housings, fencings, orchards, and priveliges there unt belonging, except the burying place of my honored father, which I reserve for a burying place for myself and heirs. Also land in Cowesett, one houselot in East Greenwich, one feather bed and furniture, one cow, one chest. In case Clement die without issue, Jonathan to inherit the land in Cowesett, and my grandson, Phillip Wever, to inherit the house lot in the new town, above mentioned, the goods and chattels aforesaid to be in equal parts inherited by my daughter's children. Mary, daughter, to succeed, son, Clement, in the 15 acres of land, and after her death her son, Clement, and his heirs.
 - " my daughter, Mary Wever, 80 pounds.
 - " "son, Gideon, and heirs, all land which I bought of Henry Mattison, in East Greenwich, housings, fencings, orchards, and buildings, one house lot in East Greenwich, also two small lots, one feather bed and furniture, one cow, one chest, in case he die without issue, his portion to be divided among son, Jonathan's children.
- To my wife, Hannah Wever, all my household goods within doors, to have equal privileges with Jonathan in the house and in all movables, during her widowhood. To have chief power over my negro man, and after her death, or marriage, negro man to go to Jonathan.

Ex.: Hannah Wever, widow, and Jonathan Wever, son.

Test: Thomas Wickes, Dorcas Casey, Samuel Casey. Inventory, 797 pounds, 15s. 0d.

I, 196

Wever, Clement, son of William Wever, December 31, 1737. Inventory, 147 pounds, 5s. 7d.

I, 206

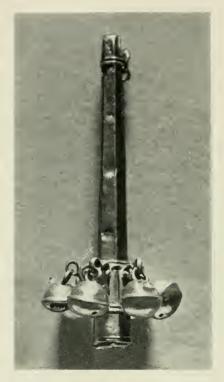
Mackeen, John,

April 14, 1738; May 27, 1738.



Parish Church at High Lever, Essex, England, where Roger Williams and Mary Barnard were married, December 15, 1629

Courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth French Bartlett



Gold Rattle owned by Gabriel Bernon, 1644-1736. From the Museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society

Sarah Mackeen, exec. Inventory, 95 pounds, 5s. 6d.

I, 209

July 29, 1738; August 16, 1738.

Joseph Nicholas, exec. Inventory, 201 pounds, 6s. 2d.

Davis, John,

Nicholas, John,

Martha, widow, exec. Inventory, 194 pounds, 15s. 6d.

I, 223

I, 226

I, 213

Johnson, Elisha, yeoman,

January 1, 1738/9; January 27, 1738/9.

February 25, 1737/8.

- To wife, Deborah, 1/3 personal estate, 1/3 use of profit of real estate.
 - " son, Jonathan, and heirs, my fulling mill and appurtenances, 2 acres of land in said town, beginning at southmost corner of said farm, extending northward along the highway until a line easterly parellel with **Tentenbers**', as they now stand, sixteen feet northward of said **Tentenbers**, to extend the same course easterly until a southward line will cross the middle of the old cellar whereon the old house stood, so as to extend to **Samuel Davis**' land aforesaid, all privileges and appurtenances there unto belonging.
 - " son, Elisha, 5 pounds.
 - " " Benjamin, 5 shillings.
 - " " Israel, and heirs, my farm which I purchased of Clement Wever, 227 acres, all privileges and appurtenances.
 - " son, Elisha, and heirs, all other lands and tenements, at age of 21.
 - " daughter, Elizabeth, all use and profits of said land during Elisha's minority.
 - " " six daughters, Elizabeth, Deborah, Jemima, Amy, Freelove, and Phoebe, each, one feather bed and furniture, thereunto belonging.

Ex.: Deborah, widow, and son, Elisha.

Test: Pardon Tillinghast, Alice Tillinghast, John Jenkins. Inventory, 248 pounds, 18s. 8d.

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Report of the Treasurer

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1921.

Dr.

	Cia	** 0	DR.				
T.			N HAND January 1, 1921: Institution for Savings	0022	00		
111							
66			nd Hospital Trust Company	287			
44			Exchange Bank	547	45		
			Bank of Commerce (Checking Ac-				
				30	61		
6.6			Bank of Commerce (Special Account				
				435	60		
64			Sank of Commerce (Special Account				
				1,364	73		
4.6	Rhode	Isla	and Hospital Trust Co. (balance of				
			H. Bugbee Fund)	149	58		
66	Industr	ial [Frust Co. (Franklin Lyceum Memorial				
	Fun	d) .		734	52		
Sp			nt No. 1, U. S. Treasury Certificates.		23		
Ch	ecks and	d P	ostoffice Money Order	11	50		
			-			\$6,406	22
Re	ceipts f	rom	Annual Dues				
		16	Books	67			
	66	6	Expenses	17			
	6.6	4.6	Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund In-				
			terest	29	66		
	46	6.6	Interest and Dividends	3,507			
	"	66	Newspaper Account	45			
	44	66	Publications	110			
	a	66	Rental of Rooms	29			
	"	66	State Appropriation	1,500			
	66		Special Account No. 1	544			
	66	66	Special Account No. 1	10			
				2,789			
	4.6	66	Special Account No. 3	2,789			
		"	James H. Bugbee Fund (Interest)	5 10			
	44	44	Supplies				
	"		Telephone	3	85		
			James H. Bugbee Fund (Balance of	2 000	00		
	44		Principal)				
		66	Investments				0.2
			-			13,639	03

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., Treasurer, in account with the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. For current account, viz.:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Cr.

Ashes	\$40	00
Binding	339	68
Books	537	69
Books (Colonial Dames Fund)	8	50
Electric Lighting	17	62
Exhibitions	107	43
Expenses	268	76
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	16	50
Fuel	513	76
Gas	8	40
Grounds and Building	175	26
Investments	4,105	21
Janitorial Services	326	65
Newspaper Account	129	46
Publications	849	92
Salaries	3,366	00
Supplies	171	95
Telephone	59	18
Water	8	00
Special Account No. 1	892	48
Special Account No. 2	830	25
Special Account No. 3	42	16
State Appropriation for Marking Historical Sites	15	00
Calvin Monument Fund	10	00
-		\$12,845 12
CASH ON HAND December 31, 1921:		
In Providence Institution for Savings	\$832	00
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company	287	00
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account		
No. 1)	87	43
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account		
No. 2)	544	54
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account		
No. 3	2,747	20
" National Exchange Bank	281	40
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company (balance		
of James H. Bugbee Fund)	28	45
Special Account No. 1, U. S. Treasury Certificates	2,017	87
Check	125	00
In National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	249	24
		7,200 13

\$20,045 25

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

Edward K. Aldrich, Jr., Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 1, 1922.

LIABILITIES.

Grounds and Buildings Permanent Endowment Fund:	\$25,000	00 \$	\$25,000	00
Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000	00		
Henry J. Steere				
James H. Bugbee	6,000			
Charles H. Smith	5,000			
Charles W. Parsons	4,000			
William H. Potter	3.000			
Esek A. Jillson.	2,000			
John Wilson Smith	1,000			
William G. Weld	1,000			
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000			
Charles H. Atwood.	1,000			
			46,000	00
Publication Fund:		Ŷ	10,000	00
Ira B. Peck	\$1,000	00		
William Gammell	1.000			
Albert J. Jones	1,000			
William Ely	1,000			
Julia Bullock	500			
Charles H. Smith	100			
			\$4,600	00
Life Membership Fund	\$4,700		\$4,700	
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	734		734	
Special Account No. 1 (National Bank of Com-	101	04		
merce)	87	43	87	43
Special Account No. 2 (National Bank of Com-	07	10	07	10
merce)	544	54	544	54
Special Account No. 3 (National Bank of Com-	011	01	011	0.
merce)	2,747	20	2,747	20
Special Account No. 1, U. S. Treasury Certificates.			2,017	
		··		
		\$8	86.431	56
Accumulated Surplus			'	
			,	
,		\$9	96,271	73

бо

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Assets.

Investments :	
Grounds and Building \$25,000	00
\$6,000.00 Bonds, Minneapolis, Lyndale & Min-	
netonka Railway 5,850 00	
\$4,000.00 Bonds, Cedar Rapids Manufacturing	
& Power Company 3,228 88	
\$3,000.00 Bonds, The Cleveland Electric Illu-	
minating Company 2,565 42	
\$500.00 Bond, Western Electric Company, Inc. 497 69	
125 Shares, New York Central Railroad Com-	
pany 12,500 00	
111 Shares, Pennsylvania Railroad Company 7,188 45	
30 Shares, Lehigh Valley Railroad Company. 2,112 50	
6 Shares, Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company 241 85	
40 Shares, Milwaukee Electric Railway &	
Light Company, preferred 3,900 00	
55 Shares, American Telephone & Telegraph	
Company 7,123 61	
60 Shares, Providence Gas Company 5,005 68	
Mortgage, P. A. and H. A. Cory 2,975 00	
10 Shares, Duquesne Light Company, preferred 1,060 00	
\$1,000.00 Bond, Denver Gas & Electric Com-	
pany	
\$1,000.00 Bond, Columbus Railway, Power &	
Light Company	
30 Shares, Merchants National Bank 1,800 00	
45 Shares, Blackstone Canal National Bank 1,050 00	
\$1,000.00 Liberty Bond (U. S.) 2nd, 41/4 956 19	
\$100.00 Liberty Bond (U. S.), Victory 100 00	
5 Shares, Narragansett Electric Lighting Com-	
pany 285 00	
\$3,400.00 Liberty Bonds (U. S.), 4th, 41/4 2,976 81	
Participation Account in Industrial Trust Com-	
pany, Franklin Lyceum Memo-	
rial Fund 734 52	(0)
\$64,071	60

Cash on hand:						
In Providence Institution for Savings	\$832	00				
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company	287	00				
" National Exchange Bank	281	40				
" National Bank of Commerce (Checking Ac-						
count)	249	24				
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Ac-						
count No. 1)	87	43				
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Ac-						
count No. 2)	544	54				
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Ac-						
count No. 3)	2,747	20				
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company	_,					
(James H. Bugbee Fund, balance)	28	45				
Special Account No. 1, U. S. Treasury Certificates.	2,017	87				
Check	125					
=			\$7,200	13		
		-				
Total Assets		• • •	\$96,271	73		
Respectfully submitted						
EDWARD K. AL	DRICH	I, J	r.			
		Tre	asurer			
Providence, R. I., January 7th, 1922.						
Examined vouchers and securities compared and found to agree.						
HORATIO A. HUNT						
HENRY W. SACKETT						
ARTHUR P. SUMNER						
Aud	iting (Com	mittee			

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Duncan Hunter, Mrs. John F. Marvel, Mr. Walter Everett French, Mr. Henry M. Sessions, Mr. John F. Murphy and Mr. John Krawczuk.

During December, 1921, and January, 1922, the Society held a loan exhibition of old signboards. Over 30 signboards were exhibited, it being the largest exhibition of its kind ever held in Rhode Island and probably ever held in New England. In connection with this exhibition, Professor Wilfred H. Munro,

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L.H.D., delivered an interesting talk on Tuesday evening, January 24, 1922.

Illustrated accounts of the exhibition appeared in the Providence Sunday Journal, December 18, 1921, and in the Boston Evening Transcript, Saturday, February 4, 1922.

The following persons kindly loaned their property for this exhibition:

George T. Spicer, M.D.,	Mr. Russell Grinnell,
Mr. Howard M. Chapin,	Mr. William S. Stone,
Charles V. Chapin, M.D.,	Mr. Albert M. Read,
G. Alder Blumer, M.D.,	Mrs. William A. Spicer,
Mr. George C. Dempsey,	Mr. C. E. Macfarlane,
Mr. Raymond E. Ostby,	Mr. Samuel M. Nicholson,
Mr. Ulysses G. Bowen,	Mr. H. Martin Brown,
Miss Ann Hoyle,	Miss Mary L. Potter,
Mr. Bautelle,	Mr. C. W. Farnum,
Pawtucket Chapter, D. A. R.,	Anawan House,
Attleboro Chapter, D. A. R.,	Rehoboth Antiquarian Society.

Vernon Stiles Inn, Ben Grosvenor Inn.

Two more fire buckets have been added to our Museum, the gift of Mrs. Rebecca F. Bradford. They are both inscribed *I. Angell.*

Mr. H. H. Rogers of the Standard Oil Company has presented to the Society the Revolutionary War Muster Roll of Capt. Elizah Lewis' Company.

The record book of the Warren and Barrington Toll Bridge Company, 1857-70, is the gift of Mr. Fred A. Arnold.

The objects found in the excavations at Arnolda, Charlestown, R. I., which were described and illustrated in the January issue of the *Collections*, are now on exhibition at the Society's building. Through the kindness of Mr. T. L. Arnold, the greater number of these relics have been presented to the Society.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society held in January, Prof. Harry L. Koopman read a chapter of his poem, "Hesperia," entitled, "Valor: The Nation's Honor Vindicated in Barbary," dealing with the war between the United States and the Algerian Pirates. The January issue of the *Bulletin* of the Newport Historical Society contains an extensive and valuable account of Early Rhode Island Grist Mills.

Roger Williams' Marriage.

The marriage record of Roger Williams has recently been discovered by Mrs. Elizabeth (French) Bartlett and through her courtesy is for the first time printed.

It is recorded in the parish register of High Lever, Co. Essex, as follows:

"1629 Roger Williams clarke and Mary Barnard were married the 15th day of Decem: anno dom 1629"

A previous discovery of Mrs. Bartlett in regard to this matter was printed in the *Collections* for October, 1918.

RHODE ISLAND Historical Society Collections

	Juiy,	1 7 10 10	1.01 *	
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	/			
	CONT	TENTS		
	COLL			

Inly, 1922

The Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay By Edmund B. Delabarre

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PAGE

No. 3

The Wallum Pond Estate	es (Continue	ed)				
By Harry Lee Barne	s		•	•	•	7

Notes

Vol XV

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Issued Quarterly

75 cents per copy



HISTORICE Sectorial States Handle States Han

RHODE

HISTORICAL

ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

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The Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay By Edmund B. Delabarre

V. The "Written-Rocks" at Tiverton

The town of Tiverton, lying across the Sakonnet River from Portsmouth, was once, like the latter, a centre for the activities of the ancient rock-inscribers. There is evidence that there was formerly a considerable number of rocks in Tiverton whose surfaces served as tablets for the primitive engraver. Some of them have been destroyed, some used in constructing stone walls or foundations, some covered deep with the debris of storms, so that now there is only one exposed to view. By the aid of the chart published in a previous paper¹, and of the photographs that accompany this one², it will be easy to find it. The main road from Fall River to Sakonnet passes near the place, which is about five miles south of the Stone Bridge, and a short dis-

¹ These Collections, Jan. 1921, xiv. 17; lower chart of Plate XIV. ² Plate XVIII. The writer is indebted to Mr. John R. Hess for

² Plate XVIII. The writer is indebted to Mr. John R. Hess for these photographs.

tance southwest of Tiverton Four Corners. Leaving the main road near the latter place, a by-road leading westerly is taken. either the one just north or equally well the one just south of Nonquit Pond. This is followed, with the necessary turns as indicated on the chart, until we pass the wharf south of Fogland Point and proceed nearly to High Hill, walking down to the beach just before the latter is reached. A short distance from High Hill, on the next little point north of it, about opposite the number 16 that appears as a depth-indication on the chart, is a group of large "graywacke" or sandstone boulders on the shore between the low and the high water levels. The only one of these that is inscribed is marked with an X in the photograph showing the appearance of the group, and is thus readily identified. It is the most southerly and farthest in-shore of the larger boulders. North of this group, about half-way to the wharf, is a ledge of similar rock, with a fish-weir at its southerly end.

A very striking feature of the situation consists in the enormous masses of water-worn stones that cover the beach and rise up in thick deposits behind the group of boulders. The photograph shows their appearance better than words can describe it. Some of the inscribed boulders that, as late at least as 1835, were plainly exposed to view, now lie completely buried by these storm-tossed fragments. The spot impressed Dr. Webb, when he viewed it, as apparently "one of Nature's favorite battle grounds; and the great masses of rock scattered around and piled upon one another, near by, indicate the ravages which at some distant period here took place. The inroads made upon most of these bowlders, by the action of winds, and tides and storms, are strongly evidenced by the singularly cellulated or honeycombed appearance they present." He expressed the opinion that the great September gale of 1815 was responsible for serious damage to the inscriptions, since "the water swept with such tremendous violence and power over the ground where the Inscription-Monuments are situated, that it bore along with it rocks, and sand and gravel, which so ground in upon the faces of them as to occasion their present impaired

condition."1 But though thus injured, none of the rocks were then covered by the piles of loose stones. This had happened, however, by 1868, when Dr. Samuel A. Green reported that he could find only one of them². The present owner of the place, Mr. Leon F. Almy, tells me that about ten years ago the beach back of the rock was washed up two or three feet higher than before. Both he and the writer have, at different times, thrown aside considerable quantities of the overlying stones in the endeavor, as yet unsuccessful, to uncover additional inscriptions; but a year later the stones had been washed back again. Evidently the spot is still "one of Nature's favorite battle grounds"; and we may well hope that in her changing moods she may some day wash away these obstructing stones and again reveal the missing inscriptions.

The single inscription now observable is on a nearly plane surface of rock measuring about four by seven feet, inclined a little to the north of west at an angle of 23° to the horizontal. The lines are pecked in, with a depth usually of 2 to 5, though occasionally as much as 8 millimeters. One possibly artificial cup near the center is 15 millimeters deep and 60 in diameter. On account of the conditions of lighting, it is difficult to secure photographs which show the carvings clearly. Probably the one here presented, in Plate XVIII, is as successful as any that could be made without artificial lighting. It was taken on October 29, 1919, just at sunset of a day without clouds or mist, with the light glancing low across the face in such manner as to throw the figures into the greatest possible relief, and with the daylight supplemented slightly by a not very successfully working flashlight.

Examination of the rock itself, and comparison of these photographs with the earlier drawings of Plates XIX and XX, show several features of interest. The most prominent and certain artificial markings are a figure shaped like the number 4, an oval or diamond with central dot, an ill-shaped X, some zigzags, and finally the crude figure of a man, about two feet in

¹ Antiquitates Americanae, 1837, p. 403. ² Proc. Amer. Antiqu. Soc., Oct. 21, 1868, p. 13.

length, with cross-lines running from each shoulder to opposite hip. Mr. Almy thinks that the man is represented as hanging from a gibbet, and there is some faint suggestion of this in the drawing of 1768. The surface of the rock above the inscribed portion and to a slight extent below it is deeply and intricately pitted and honeycombed, and is evidently soft enough to have been subjected to great decay and wear. But the inscribed surface itself is of more resistant material, and clearly has suffered little in the course of 150 years. Stiles' careful drawing shows not only the artificial lines but also many of the natural pittings and flakings of the surface "incrustation," distinguished by dots between the lines. These features remain now, in size, shape and position, almost exactly what they were in his day. The "graywacke" of this boulder is very similar to that of Dighton Rock and the other inscribed rocks of this region. It has often been asserted that the rate of wear of these surfaces is very rapid and that the consequent gradual disappearance of the carvings is easily perceptible even in a single lifetime. For Dighton Rock I reached the conclusion that this is a psychological impression only, and that actual erosion is so slow as to have made no appreciable change in the appearance of the figures since the time of their earliest observation. The fortunate circumstance that in this case Stiles depicted the more prominent natural features of the surface a hundred and fifty years ago, enables us to prove that, in spite of its exposure to unusually severe batterings by storm, stones and ice, the Tiverton rock has suffered little, and thus strongly supports the same belief concerning the other rocks also.

Mr. Almy informs me that "this property has never been out of my family since the settlement of this State, and has been handed down from father to son with the single exception that I took it from my uncle. In questioning my grandfather, Samuel E. Almy, Sr., who was born in 1800, he told me that no one as far back as he could inquire of his ancestors could name the origin of these markings, and it had always been referred to in the family as the 'Writing Rock'."

We have already learned that Dr. Ezra Stiles, while minister

at Newport and even later when he was President of Yale College, was intensely interested in sculptured rocks, and visited, described and made drawings of all that were reported to him which he could easily reach. His manuscript notes and drawings, which he called his "Itinerary," so far as they deal with this particular subject, have never heretofore been published, and yet are of large importance for thorough study of these monuments. So far as we know, he was the first person who investigated the "Written Rocks," as he called them, in Tiverton. He went there first a year after his first inspection of the Dighton and Portsmouth rocks, arriving on June 6, 1768, and lodging with Mr. John Almy, son of Col. Job Almy, who died in 1767. Mr. Almy was deaf, and consequently Dr. Stiles wrote down in his Itinerary (volume ii, page 345) certain questions which he wished to ask him. We can infer from the context the answers that he received. Including these within brackets, the following is the record of their conversation:

"'Please to tell me how I may find the Rock markt with Characters in your Farm.' [Location of two or more such rocks given by Mr. Almy.] 'Do you know any other?' ['Yes; but it has been destroyed.'] 'How long ago?' ['Six years.'] '1762?' ['Yes.] Cut it up for Whetstones & sent to Nova Scotia.'"

On the following day, Stiles made drawings of the inscriptions on two rocks in his Itinerary¹, preceding them by the following remark: "Rocks marked, on the late Col. Almys Farm, about a hundred Rods below Fogland in Tiverton, Rh. Isld. The Stones are soft grit, & have suffered by time." Underneath each drawing are several indications of dimensions; and underneath the second is the statement: "A Third Stone obliterated and two other small Stones."

In the fourth volume of the Itineraries are several notes made twenty years later. On page 215, under date of September 15, 1788, is his memorandum, previously referred to, to "take off a new copy of the characters" here and elsewhere. On page 254

¹ Volume ii., pages 351, 352. See Plate XIX.

is a small road-map of his travels about this time. Near "Col. Almys" are three small circles with numbers between them, doubtless indicating the positions of the rocks and their distance apart, probably expressed in rods. One circle appears to represent a prominent boulder or ledge on the bank. At a distance of "2" rods directly west is another circle, representing probably the position of the first rock whose characters he copied; and at a distance of "6" southwest of this is the third circle, corresponding to his second drawing, taken from the rock now exposed to view. We know from the description given later by Webb that this is the direction in which the two rocks lie with reference to one another. But no one has ever told how far apart they are. Consequently, if ever the overlying stones get washed away again, or if anyone ever has the patience and energy to throw them off, this rather uncertain record by Stiles may aid in locating the one that is now concealed from view. Below this map, on the same page, is his final note concerning these rocks: "1788, Sept. 29. Rode with Mr Patten to Tiverton. Dined McCorys-took off the markt Rocks in Mr Ino Almys Farm—lodged at Mr Almys Aet 69 at Punkataece¹. 30. Storm NE. Copying more Rocks-Storm P. M. Takg off Characters at Mr Almys. Oct. 1. Left Mr Almys." There is a brief reference to this same visit also in Stiles' published "Literary Diary" (iii. 330), with mention merely of "havg stopt one day to take off Inscriptions on the Rocks at Fogland Ferry." The drawings made on this occasion are not preserved.

When Edward A. Kendall compiled his "List of Indian Sculptures" in 18092, he erroneously interpreted Stiles' manuscripts as indicating two localities here instead of one. His item 11 reads: "In Narragansett Bay, on the lands of the late Col. Almy, on the peninsula of Paucatuc, on the east side of the bay, and at six miles from the shore;" and item 12: "In the same, at Tiverton." Evidently Paucatuc should have been writ-

¹ This is the name of the neck lying between Nonquit Pond and Sakonnet River. Stiles elsewhere spells it "Punckatace," and it is also sometimes given as "Punkatest" or "Puncoteast." ² See these Collections, July, 1920, xiii. 92; Kendall's Travels, 1809,

iii. 221.

ten Punkatace, the distance mentioned was not from the shore but from some other place (probably Newport), and with these corrections the two items should have been combined into one.

Soon after the Committee of the Rhode Island Historical Society had finished its new drawing of Dighton Rock for Professor Rafn in 1834, it began to seek out other inscribed rocks of the vicinity. It learned, from Kendall's list or otherwise, that there were such rocks in Tiverton. On November 30, 1834, Dr. Webb reported for the Committee to Rafn: "None such have been found by us. The one in Tiverton we have marked [on the chart] near Howland's Ferry Bridge, because we apprehend that this shared the fate common to all rocks in that vicinity for some distance around, when the last bridge was built at that place in 1809, which was constructed by dropping immense quantities of stones of all dimensions into the water till a rampart was raised above the surface of the highest tide. The water here at the lowest tide is fifty-one feet."¹ There appears to be no reason to believe, however, that there ever was any inscribed rock in this part of Tiverton. On May 26, 1835, William A. Staples reported to the trustees of the Society that he had found and visited the Inscription Rocks in Tiverton; and "the secretary was requested to correspond with Dr. Patten and others to procure a copy of the drawings of the Inscription said to have been taken in 1783 by Dr. Stiles."² They were not successful in securing copies of Stiles' drawings. But Webb and Bartlett visited the rocks on the 18th of August, made drawings of their inscriptions, and on October 31, 1835, made the following report to Rafn:

"The inscriptions are on masses of gray-wacke, near a ledge of the same rock, occurring on the shore of Mr. Almy's farm, a short distance to the N.W. of the High Hill. The Drawings sent marked No. 4, 5 & 6 exhibit the present condition of the Inscriptions. No. 4 and 5 are on a line ranging from N.E. to S.W. No. 4 is a very large mass, if not in fact a continuous portion of the ledge near by. It being buried in the ground, we

¹ Antiquitates Americanae, p. 372. ² Manuscript Records of the Society, July 21, 1835.

were unable to decide the point. The markings are on its upper surface, which is inclined at an angle of a few degrees to the N. and that part which is uncovered, measures 81/2 feet in length and 6 feet in breadth. It is utterly impossible for us to conjecture what was formerly in the vacant spaces; we can only state, they were occupied with some kind of characters. The individual, upon whose land they are, thinks there was never any thing but human figures on them; but sufficient even now remains to prove the incorrectness of his opinion; look, for instance, at the figure resembling somewhat a cross, and at the one a little below it, to the right. This rock has a crevice running across it near the upper left hand corner; and a portion has been broken away at the upper right hand corner. The characters on another lying between No. 4 and No. 5 have become entirely obliterated. Those on No. 5 faced to the N.W. and the space they occupied measured 4 feet by 7 feet. The human figure on this rock is more distinct and perfect than the rest, being formed on a much larger scale, and the indentations being deeper. The peculiarity about the left knee will not escape your notice. No. 6 is a small stone of a schistose structure lying a short distance to the S. of the others, and might be lifted by two stout men; it is of the size of the outline sent, on which the characters are represented of their true dimensions. These are formed in a different manner from the others and perhaps are of a different origin; although we do not pretend to decide upon the matter; they are channelled or grooved, and appear to have been made by a chizzel or smooth cutting instrument. Previously to 1815, according to Mr. Almy, the characters were so plain, that they could be clearly distinguished at some distance from the rocks. . . . The distance across, from the Tiverton Rocks to the Rhode Island shore is 11/4 mile and to Newport 61/4 miles."1 The portions of the letter here omitted discuss the obliterating effect of storms and have already been quoted.

¹ Antiquitates Americanae, p. 402. See also this Society's manuscript Correspondence and Reports, vol. ii., pp. 49, 74.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XVIII



The group of Tiverton boulders as seen from the south, looking toward Fogland Point



Photograph of Tiverton inscription by John R. Hess, October 29, 1919, at 5 P.M.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XIX



(Stiles's First Drawing) (The lowest line in the above reads F 8 Inc. to +)

fiel Honeycomi A to B 2 ful C to D 5 Sme

(Stiles's Second Drawing)

Drawings of Tiverton inscriptions by Ezra Stiles, June 7, 1768; reproduced from Stiles's manuscript Itineraries, II. 351, 352.

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Instead of reproducing the Webb-Bartlett drawings as given in Tabella XIII of Antiquitates Americanae, our Plate XX presents the originals of them in possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Like the Portsmouth drawings, these are on sheets of paper measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ by $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and are here shown much reduced. Almost the only important difference between them and the reproductions by Rafn is that the latter erroneously prints " $6 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ feet" underneath No. 5 instead of underneath No. 4, where it belongs, and thus fails to print the correct " 4×7 feet" underneath No. 5.

The only further report upon these rocks based upon personal inspection that we possess is that of Dr. Samuel A. Green in 1868, already cited. Although he knew that three sculptured rocks had been found here by Webb, he could then discover but one of them. "Of the missing two at Tiverton, one is known to have been taken away several years ago and kept as a curiosity near a farm house. It was afterwards built into a wall in such a way that the pictured face could not be seen. . . . The stone at Tiverton is a mica-slate. . . . Many of the marks are still distinct and well-defined, and perhaps were made by the same tribe that made those on Dighton Rock. They are of interest as early specimens of rude Indian art."

In these accounts, there is evidence that at least six rocks bearing man-made characters were once included in this Tiverton group. Giving them arbitrary numbers, and assuming as few as possible, they were as follows: 1. The one reported to Stiles as having been cut up into whetstones in 1762 and sent to Nova Scotia. 2. The first of Dr. Stiles; Webb's No. 4; now buried deeply underneath the stone-heaps on the shore; perhaps to be sought two rods west of a prominent rock or ledge on the bank, and six rods northeast of the rock still exposed to view. 3. Webb's stone, with characters obliterated between his No. 4 and No. 5; probably identical with the "third stone obliterated" of Dr. Stiles; now buried under loose stones. 4. The second of Dr. Stiles; Webb's No. 5; the one now visible on the shore. 5. Webb's No. 6, originally a short distance to the south of his No. 5, where no such boulder can now be found, although there are no overlying stones on that part of the beach; perhaps identical with one of Stiles' "two other small stones," and with the one reported by Dr. Green as having been removed and built into a stone wall. 6. The second of Stiles' "two other small stones"; not now discoverable; had probably disappeared before 1835.

The same theories that we discussed at length as having been advanced to account for the Portsmouth Inscriptions¹ apply here also. Dr. Stiles regarded them as of Phoenician origin. Rafn and Magnusen believed that they were made by the Northmen, and they found on these rocks as well as on those in Portsmouth certain characters which they declared to be "unquestionable" runic letters. These were tabulated in our Figure 3, whose numbers 7 to 13 belong to the Tiverton Rocks. Number 13 is easily seen on the Webb-Bartlett drawing of rock No. 5, and the others were discovered probably on drawing No. 4. Comparison with the Stiles drawings and with our photograph shows that not one of them has any claim to acceptance as a character actually present on the rocks. They are probably almost obliterated and wholly doubtful fragments of larger designs now indecipherable. Bliss, Wilhelmi, Hermes and Kunstmann supported the Norse view, but merely as expounders of Rafn. De Costa opposed the Norse theory, but advanced no other opinion. Bacon was cautious and non-committal, rather inclining to believe in the Northmen. Strong advocates of the belief that Indians made the inscriptions we found in Kendall, Bartlett, Winsor, Green and Babcock². To these latter we must add E. G. Squier, who held that the inscriptions at Dighton, Tiverton and Portsmouth "do not seem to differ materially in character" from the many other Indian pictographs that he had observed³.

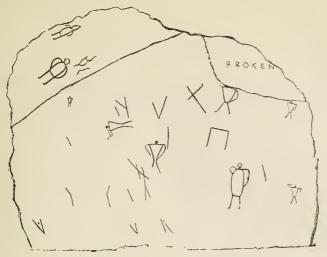
There are two additional theories which have been applied to these Tiverton rocks without the usual simultaneous reference

¹ These Collections, July 1920, xiii. 86-93.

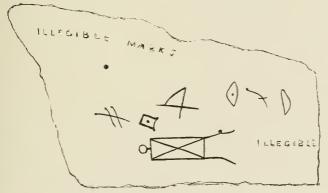
² The sources for all of these opinions are fully cited in the writer's Bibliography of Dighton Rock, in Publications of the Colonial Soc. of Mass., 1920, xx. 438-462.

³ Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1847, i. 298, 300.

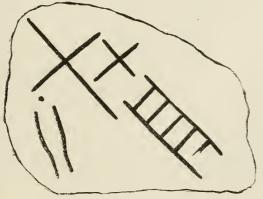
PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XX



(Webb-Bartlett Drawing "No. 4. 6x81/2 feet")



(Webb-Bartlett Drawing "No. 5. 4x7 feet")



(Webb-Bartlett Drawing "No. 6")

Drawings of Tiverton inscriptions by John R. Bartlett, August 18, 1835; reproduced from the originals in possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society. to those at Portsmouth, and which consequently we did not mention in discussing the latter, although their supporters would undoubtedly have considered them as applying equally well there. One of these is the view expounded in 1824 by John Finch and in 1888 by James N. Arnold, which we have previously alluded to,¹ that the rocks at Tiverton and elsewhere are Druidical monuments. The other is the equally absurd belief of John Whipple that there are no artificial characters at all on these rocks. Dr. Thomas H. Webb is authority for this fact, in a letter which he wrote to John R. Bartlett on February 4, 1838: "John Whipple laughs at the whole affair, denies that there are any such figures as we represent on the Tiverton Rocks, having visited them many times, that there are hundreds of just such rocks in our Bay, all of which were marked by the action of water, stones, &c, and that these markings have by the conjurings of our imaginations been fashioned into the shapes delineated on our plates. He considers the Inscription Rocks. Animal Magnetism, & Phrenology, among the humbugs of the $dav."^2$

We need have no hesitation now in entertaining the conviction that these carvings were made at some unknown date by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region. They seem to be executed in the characteristic style of the Indians, now familiar to us through numerous far-scattered examples. These at Tiverton, of course, as in every other individual case, have a content different from that of any others. They include a large number of rudely executed human figures, which, though not lacking, are much less numerous on other rocks of our region. But these appear to have no significant grouping, to tell no story, and are probably the record of individual fancy. The other markings do not seem to be representations of anything definite, and must probably be classed as merely whimsical or decorative scribblings.

¹ These Collections, January 1921, xv. 20. ² Preserved in Letter-Book of John R. Bartlett (unpublished), now in the John Carter Brown Library.

The Wallum Pond Estates By HARRY LEE BARNES

(Continued from April Number)

The Revolution.

On September 19, 1776, the Town Council sought to encourage enlistments for the protection of Newport by offering 3 pounds as a bonus in addition to the regular pay given the State troops and by promising to replace the firearms furnished by each soldier if it should be taken from him by a stronger power. A record of the meeting of the Town Council on May 5th, 1777, shows that the State draught included the following land-owners of the Allum Pond neighborhood: Ezra Stone, Jeremiah Ballard, Jethro Lapham, John Howland, Jr., James Stone and Thomas Herendeen, who were to serve under Col. Chad Brown.

The Jennes.

Timothy Jenne of Uxbridge, Mass., bought Ballard's sawmill, gristmill and other property Sept. 30, 1778. During the next few years Jenne cleared the land on his farm, the extent of this clearing being greater than is indicated by the present open space about the Sanatorium buildings. The land west of the present buildings was used as a pasture about half way to the Lake, the cattle using the spring just below the West Ward. The pine grove between the Sanatorium buildings and the Superintendent's cottage and the one south of the sewage plant have gradually grown up since 1858. In 1786, Timothy Jenne's brother, Seth, a carpenter, came to Allum Pond and bought 581/2 acres of the southern part of the Jenne farm. During the same year the Jenne brothers built a dam and mill at the lowest mill privilege which was on Seth's land and but a stone's throw east of the present boiler house. This mill privilege was soon sold in shares often as small as sixteenths to John Howland, John Kimball, Daniel Hunt and others, who sold it back and forth to each other with bewildering frequency. Many owners probably sold their shares as soon as they had got out what lumber they wished

for their own buildings. Timothy Jenne sold the Ballard mills and dwelling house to Chad Field, who immediately sold it to Jacob Lathrop and Seth Hayward. In order to safeguard the lower mill privilege, Jenne, five days later, bought back from Field a limited privilege couched in the following language: "I Chad Field etc., do grant to Seth & Timothy Jenne a privilege to draw water through my grist mill dam to support a sawmill at all times when the water is above the lower part of the letter T on the north side of a rock at the upper end and south side of the South ditch where the water runs from Allum Pond to my grist mill and I do bind myself to keep a gate sufficient in my gristmill dam to dam water as above mentioned-I bind myself not to turn the water out of the place where it now runs to the sawmill except what water the mill makes use of to water his land,-and I do grant a privilege to turn the water out of my grist mill pond to water his land sufficiently 2 nights in a week and no more from the 15th day of the 4th month to the 15th day of the 7th month." A natural outlet to the pond was the north ditch which led by a gradual descent through a swamp back of the place which is now O'Neil's Camp. This outlet was not suitable for the development of water power and was stopped by an artificial embankment plainly visible from the pond at this day. During high water the overflow is still sufficient to fill this brook. On June 5, 1793, Timothy Jenne bought back from Seth Jenne about an acre of land a few rods below the lower sawmill as a site for a fulling mill, but there is no evidence that this mill was ever built. Timothy, or possibly his brother, built a new house near the site of the first Sanatorium barn, the cellar hole of which was still to be seen when the Sanatorium opened in 1905. This house had disappeared before 1840, according to old residents. Timothy Jenne probably died about 1812, and with his wife. Abigail, and some of his seven children, were said to have been buried in the little burying ground which was located under the site of the Sanatorium East Ward¹. Some of the old head stones were marked Jenne and skeletons were exhumed during

¹ Statement to the writer by Seth Darling, Michael McDermott and others.

the excavation for the foundation of this building. William Green claimed that a burial took place there as late as 1850. Jacob Jenne, Timothy's son, married Thos. Howland's daughter, Dorcas, who lived to be over 100 years old. It is of some interest to know that an inventory of Jacob Jenne's goods at his death in 1816, showed 1 bushel of corn and 25 bushels of rye but no wheat and that Dorcas had 13 pewter plates valued at \$1.50 each, 9 pewter spoons, 3 pewter platters, a pair of weaving looms and warping bars. They kept 2 cows, a pair of oxen, a pig and 2 geese.

The King Place

James King bought the place where the Sanatorium garden is now located, of Hoziel Hopkins, Feb. 5, 1793. The old house was a few feet west of the present cellar hole and the barn a little farther west. Hopkins and King cleared the land to the southward about half the way to the Buck Hill road. Either Hopkins or King cleared and drained the large swamp to the westward where the cranberry bog is now located by ditching the swamp itself and also by turning the little brook, which enters the south end of the cranberry bog, eastward across the present Sanatorium garden1 and the highway so that this water reached Clear River without entering the swamp or the pond. The swamp was then cultivated and was very fertile. Samuel White is quoted as saying that it grew the biggest corn of any place in this vicinity. Considerable land was cleared east of the highway where the old apple trees may still be seen. At this time King kept a lot of stock, about 40 head, according to Levi Darling, and for many years he owned a share in and operated the lower sawmill opposite the present boiler house. He died on the old place, his will being probated Jan. 2, 1819. His wife, Hannah, and daughter, Keziah, probably lived there some time afterward, as his will provided that his son, James, should keep one cow and four sheep for each of them for the rest of their natural lives. James King, 2nd, lived in this vicinity until 1822,

¹ The ditch was visible until filled by ploughing a few years ago.

when he moved to Pennsylvania. The old King house1 probably rotted down as there was rotten timber but no house there after 1840. The farm came into the possession of Dr. Levi Eddy, King's son-in-law, who held it until his death in 1844. After passing through the hands of Stephen Arnold, and Enos Lapham, at one time Lieutenant-Governor of the State, the King place was bought by Benjamin Green. About 1852, Green built a new house somewhat nearer the road where the cellar hole may vet be seen. The well is still used by the Sanatorium farm employees. Green had a barn or shed about 100 feet to the north of his house. The Green house burned down while occupied by Edward Wells about 1893. His wife had left the place to carry her husband's dinner and returned to find it in flames. The Green barn was moved to Pascoag about this time. Whether cranberries were present in the old bog before James King drained and converted it into a cornfield is unknown, but cranberries were growing there by 18482. About 1860, Green built a dam high enough to flood the bog 3 or 4 feet to prevent the vines being frost killed. W. H. Green claimed that over 500 bu, of cranberries were raised here in one season.

The Azariah Phillips Place.

Azariah Phillips bought a few acres of land northeasterly of the present Sanborn house, Nov. 20, 1795, and built a small house. He was a cooper by trade and operated a lathe to get out his stock. He made fiddles, baskets, old-fashioned splint-bottom chairs and other furnishings. Azariah Phillips died shortly before Jan. 19, 1837, at which time his will was probated. His widow afterward kept house for Randall Angell and while picking up chips was killed by a buck sheep. Benjamin Sweet afterward lived in this house, and still later it was occupied by negroes. The house was taken down by Benjamin Green about 1850, when ready to collapse.

¹ Statement to the writer by Seth Darling, Wm. Green and others.

² Thos. Green to writer.

First Cotton Mill.

Bani Phillips bought the old Ballard gristmill of Hayward and Lathrop, Sept. 20, 1804, and Jan. 25, 1805, respectively, and soon after built a small cotton mill on this site. The exact date of the building of the mill is not known but must have been before Oct. 12, 1812, when he sold it fully equipped. During the next 11 years this mill was owned in whole or in part by Jeremiah, David, Robert, Harley, and Ostrander Phillips and George Lindley, who bought and sold it to each other until in December, 1819, the Court of Common Pleas was called upon to unravel the tangle. The sawmill and gristmill were located just west of the highway bridge over Clear River, and the old Ballard house was a little northwest of the bridge. Only the central part of the house now owned by Sylvester Angell, just southwest of the bridge, was then in existence, the ells having been built later. All these buildings were awarded to David Phillips with the exception of one-half of the house southwest of the bridge, which, with the Howland farm, was set off to Jeremiah Phillips and George Lindley, July 28, 1820. Harley Phillips later got possession and sold to Peleg Walker, who died soon after he bought it.

David Wilkinson¹.

David Wilkinson, a manufacturer, of North Providence, bought the cotton mill and other mills June 30, 1822, the price named being \$4,150. The cotton mill burned down some time before June 15, 1825, when he sold the water rights of Allum Pond to the Blackstone Canal Company. The company bought with the idea of storing the flood water and using it as a feeder for the canal, Clear River being a tributary of the Blackstone. Wilkinson stipulated that all the water drawn from the pond should pass through the flume of his mill and that the flood water reserved should be drawn off each year before Jan. 1st. After the burning of his cotton mill, David Wilkinson bought

¹ The writer is uncertain whether this David Wilkinson was the David Wilkinson who invented a sliding lathe, and whose sister became the wife of Samuel Slater.

various properties of both wood and improved lands about Allum Pond. He owned and operated both sawmills and carried on lumbering operations and charcoal burning on an extensive scale. He built a wood road leading from the mill southwesterly to the Buck Hill road. This road leads to a peat bog about a mile from the Sanatorium. On this road there were formerly at least two houses where people made hoops¹.

The Second Cotton Mill.

Wilkinson became involved in debt and John Whipple, as assignee for his estate, sold the entire Allum Pond property on May 7, 1831, to Levi Darling and others for \$2,000.00. Darling moved his family into the old Phillips house, added on the two ells and planted the three maple trees in the front vard which are there to-day. About 1835, Darling built a shingle mill on the site of the old cotton mill. When the second cotton mill was built the shingle mill was taken down. The firm of Sweet and James (Philip Sweet and Albert G. James) leased the upper mill privileges from the Darlings, Aug. 3, 1844. Levi Darling built a new dam on the site of the old one just back of his house. where it may still be seen. The dam and gate at the outlet of the lake were raised and the old log dam at the north outlet was also raised and strengthened. Darling built a two-story frame building 50 feet long by 37 feet wide for the factory and installed a water wheel 18 feet in diameter. He also built a cotton house and sizing house. Albert James sold his interest in the firm, Sept. 11, 1845, to Lovell Parker and Joseph Bowdish (1810-1900) and the next spring (May 1, 1846) Stephen Tallman replaced Parker and Bowdish. The cotton was drawn from Providence and the cloth sold there to Amos D. Lockwood & Co., who received a 5 per cent commission on all goods bought and sold. Sweet and Tallman complained that the water power was insufficient, and this must have been true because of the low elevation of the mill pond. The mill employed about 25 persons and created a demand for more house room for opera-

¹ Sylvester Angell to writer.

tives. In the summer of 1845, Daniel Kimball built a dwelling house about 50 feet to the west of the highway and almost directly in front of the present location of the Superintendent's cottage, on land owned by his mother, Serina Kimball. His wife, Eliza, for several years kept boarders who worked in the mill. That same summer, Abel Robbins bought a half acre lot extending both sides of the highway near the road which now enters the rear of the Sanatorium buildings and built a twotenement house. Part of the excavation for the first Sanatorium barn was in the cellar of the Robbins house. The old Timothy Jenne house was located but a few feet farther to the northwest. This house had been gone sometime when the Robbins house was built. Abel Robbins' son, Gilbert, who afterward became Mayor of Providence, lived here. This same year, Levi Darling moved the Jenne house which stood on the knoll south of the Sanatorium tennis court to its present position as the Wallum Lake Store. After it was moved, this house formed the south end of the upper story of the present house, the north end and basement being new1. Darling also built a small store at the turn of the road, about 20 yards north of the bridge over Clear River. The old Ballard house was still used as a tenement and a blacksmith shop was built near the store. April 2, 1847, Tallman and Sweet sold the machinery of the mill to Benedict Lapham for \$481. The list of machinery shows that there were 64 spindles.

The Laphams Are Balked.

Benedict Lapham obtained a five-year lease from the Darlings on August 14th of the same year. Enos Lapham, who afterward became Lieutenant-Governor of the State, was overseer in this mill. For over four years, the Laphams ran the mill successfully. They then endeavored to buy out Darling and thus obtain complete control of the water privilege with the intention of developing an extensive manufacturing plant. Had this happened, the mills would probably have been located near the lower

¹ Seth Darling (1829-1907) to writer.

water privileges, as the two upper privilges were too near the level of Wallum Pond to allow of the power being fully developed or economically used. It is said on good authority that a deed conveying the whole Darling property to Lapham was drawn and signed by both Darling and Lapham and that it was rendered void by the refusal of Hannah Darling to sign unless she received an additional \$500 for herself. Whatever reason Mrs. Darling may have had for her action, her refusal to sign the deed was a turning point in history, for had the Laphams acquired the property, their business ability, influence and money would probably have resulted in the development of a manufacturing village at Wallum Pond.

The Woolen Mill.

After the departure of the Laphams, Darling leased the factory to George W. Marsh, Augustus Hopkins, Walling & Hopkins and Syria Sherman. After this firm gave up, another firm tried to run it as a woolen mill but lasted only about six months. After several sales, mortgages, etc., to Marsh and others, Edward H. Marsh, on July 31, 1860, sold all the water rights to the outlet of Wallum Pond, the price named being \$7,500, and the control of the outlet has been held by Bridgeton manufacturers ever since. The mill was afterward taken down and moved to Manchaug, Mass., where it was used in the construction of a mill¹. The store was also moved to the same place, where it was converted into a dwelling house. The little house above the factory, built by Ballard, which had been used as a dwelling by Benjamin Greene, was used for an ice house until 1880, when it was taken down. The Robbins house was bought and moved to Mapleville by Daniel Kimball. Kimball's house was moved to Pascoag, where it still stands near the shop of the Inman Lumber Company. The cellars of the Kimball, Robbins and Jenne houses were filled in 1906. Daniel Kimball's barn. the foundation of which is still visible about 200 feet north of the Sanatorium Laundry on the same side of the highway, was

¹ William Green (1841-) to writer.

moved to Centredale about 1880 by Edward Sayles. Levi Darling sold all his Wallum Pond property, Nov. 9, 1863, to Seth Ross and Sylvester Angell and moved to Douglas, Mass. In March, 1868, Sylvester Angell bought out Ross and thus became sole owner.

The Civil War.

The boys from Wallum Pond neighborhood who fought to save the Union were: Alfred Angell, Sabin Angell, Olney Arnold, Amasa Buxton, Thomas Greene, William Greene, Benjamin Horton, Jerome Horton, Andrew Howland, James Riley, Mowry Salisbury, Judson Wadkins, John Friery, Wellington Daw, James M. Vickers and Emory White. James Riley was wounded at Fredericksburg, and Amasa Buxton and Jerome Horton died in the service. When the boys returned they noticed a striking change, as the mill and many of the dwellings had been moved away.

The Pond Traditions.

A dugout boat with carving believed to have been made by Indians, was seen by Ezra Stone, 2nd¹, when a young man. Joseph Bowdish found and raised a sunken dugout boat and used it for carrying charcoal across the Pond². A dugout boat was also seen by Daniel Buxton² and others. Sylvester Angell³ found and used an old dugout boat many years ago which showed no trace of Indian workmanship. Quite possibly, all these men saw the same boat, which might have been preserved almost indefinitely if sunk. It had been cut out with an axe or similar tool. If made by the Indians, it must have been in later years after acquiring white men's tools. It is much more likely that it was made by the early settlers before the first sawmill in 1766.

The pond is, for the most part, spring fed, so that a swimmer notices many cold spots. It is from 30 to 50 feet deep in most

¹ Wm. Kimball to writer.

² Thomas O'Neil to writer.

³ Statement to writer.

places, and, in the middle, north of Long Cove, soundings have been made 79 feet below high water. A small brook which drains the cranberry bog enters the south cove; another enters the north end; and in high water, two tiny streams enter on the west and one on the east side.

The beach at the north end has exceptionally sharp sand which, as late as 60 years ago was used in making rifles used in sharpening scythes¹.

Before 1850, a man by the name of Nathan Stone was drowned just off the big rock where the Sanatorium water intake pipe is at present located². He had gone out after wild geese and the ice broke under him. Still earlier, a fisherman fell from an old scow that had been used to carry logs across the pond to the mills, and was drowned². Francis Whiting, a boy 10 or 12 years old, while bathing at the north end, stepped into a hole and drowned. The Lime Rock Fishing Club, which rented the house north of the Superintendent's Cottage, lost one of its members by drowning sometime after 1893. The man was trying to pick up a fish hook and line which had caught on the bottom. Pickerel and perch fishing were very good up to the time the lake was stocked with bass, which was sometime about 1860.

When Daniel Kimball was fishing through the ice in Long Cove one time³, the ice separated and left open water between him and the shore. He was obliged to wait until sometime after dark, when the ice cake drifted ashore at the mouth of the cove.

While the mill was running well under the Laphams, Parker Bowdish and other employees had a small sail boat. Many old people say that Caleb Eldridge swam the whole length of the pond in a race in which his opponent was unable to finish. His name appears on an old deed in 1799. Some time about 1880, a panther escaped from a circus in Webster and was seen occasionally in the Douglas woods for over a year. Wild pigeons were plentiful here as elsewhere and were killed as late as Levi

¹ Seth Ross to writer.

² Mr. and Mrs. Seth Darling to writer.

³ Sylvester Angell to writer.

Darling's time. Foxes, coons and rabbits are still numerous to the southwest of the pond. Otter and mink were present in Wallum Pond many years ago¹ and probably are still present. In the old days, there were beaver on Clear River near Wilson's Pond². Horace Whiting caught an otter in the Whiting Pond in the Buck Hill district about 1895, an occasional mink, the last one in the Lewis Brook in 1920, and, during the last 30 years, has shot 89 foxes, most of them in the Buck Hill woods. A rattlesnake was killed in the woods south of the tennis court since 1860³.

The pine grove back of the Superintendent's cottage used to be a ball ground when the mill was running. On the west shore of the pond, near the north end, is a clay deposit which was used in the old days for making brick. The brick yard was located near the Providence Ice Company's house, where, until recently, traces of brick could be found. The chimney brick in many of the old houses of this vicinity came from this yard. These brick were small, irregular and very hard. The brick yard was abandoned, perhaps, before 1800.

The Sanborn House.

Stephen Collins, who worked a long time for Levi Darling, built a small house on the hill south of the Sanatorium, having bought the land of Darling April 17, 1840. Collins sold to Mason W. Porter, a shoemaker, March 6, 1854. Porter sold Nov. 8, 1858, to an Englishman by the name of Wm. Prince, who was a woodchopper and who lived there with his wife and daughter until the property was bought by Thomas M. Green, April 12, 1862. Green tore down the Collins house and rebuilt it with lumber obtained from the old cotton house in 1868. He worked in the Hopkins Machine Works and finally sold out to Hopkins & Co., April 6, 1898. Morton C. Sanborn, the caretaker of the Sanatorium buildings while they were under construction, bought the place July 28, 1905, shortly before the

¹ Judson Wadkins to writer.

² Randall Angell to Sylvester Angell to writer.

³ William Green to writer.

Sanatorium opened. He put the buildings in repair and it has been rented to Sanatorium employees ever since.

The Two Lower Mill Privileges.

About 1820, a turning lathe was in operation just below the Clear River bridge. The middle mill privilege near the present swimming pool was developed about 1844, the sawmill and gristmill which had been at the upper privilege having been moved here to make room for the second cotton factory. The mills were close together so that one could step from one to the other, the grist mill being on the east and the sawmill on the west side of the dam. These mills had an advantage over most of the mills dependent on water power, as there was a large reserve of water in Wallum Pond. During dry spells, the old gristmill was often run both night and day, and corn has many times been brought out here from Providence for grinding. Sylvester Angell put in the first iron water wheel and the first circular saw, wooden wheels and up and down saws having been used previously. The gristmill was closed about 1867 and a cider mill installed in its place. Mr. Angell continued to operate the sawmill occasionally until it burned in January, 1907. It had been necessary in the old days to have two mill privileges, as there was such a demand for both grinding corn and sawing lumber, but, as the demand lessened, the lower mill opposite the Sanatorium boiler house was allowed to rot down, which occurred before 1845. The upper mill pond was formerly used for skating, as it froze over much earlier than Wallum Pond.

The Adam White Road.

Opposite the entrance to the driveway approaching the front of the Sanatorium is an old wood road leading eastward through the pine grove across Clear River and over the railroad to the east road from Wallum Pond Hill to Pascoag. This wood road was formerly a highway, having been laid out June 27, 1812¹, and abandoned before 1840. Between the railroad and the east highway, was the Adam White farm, formerly belonging to

¹ Burrillville Town Council Records, Vol. 1, page 30.



Statue of Roger Williams on the Monument International de la Réformation at Geneva, Switzerland

Courtesy of Madame E. Hugli



William Clark. The house at the junction of this road with the east highway belonged to Samuel White. This house was burned by a forest fire, about 1910, and the barn removed in 1920. Samuel White hired and boarded women who worked hand looms in the basement of his house, the yarn being obtained from mills in the vicinity. In excavating for the cellar of his house, a skeleton was exhumed which tradition says was of a man of unusual height. In the old days, a cart path¹ led northerly from the Adam White place along a low ridge coming out near George Stone's tannery. A house on this path was at one time occupied by Asahel Alger.

A Cure in Early Times.

In view of the later development of a health centre at Wallum Pond, it is of interest to learn of a consumptive treated in this vicinity in 1850. Ara Paine², then a boy of 14, after about three years of cough, expectoration, blood-spitting and other symptoms, was given up as a hopeless consumptive by his physician. His grandmother, Prudence (1772-1851), wife of the Rev. Moab Paine, received him into her home, about two miles easterly of the Sanatorium, and not only cheered, rested and fed him well, as grandmothers are wont to do, but removed the two large windows from his bedroom that he might have the open air, night and day. Several months of this regimen started him on the road to health which has lasted through his 50 years in the practice of medicine and still persists after 71 years have passed away.

The Peters Place.

In going from Wallum Pond toward Pascoag in 1905, one passed through about two miles of woodland, much of which had been cleared by the old settlers, and which had since grown up to woods. The Sanatorium, in making its garden, had cleared about 10 acres of woodland west of the highway near the old King or Green place, while the opposite side of the road is to-day

¹ Sylvester Angell to writer.

² Dr. Ara Paine to writer.

woodland, where once there was meadow and orchard. About 1,500 feet beyond the King cellar hole on the left hand side of the road, is an apple tree. This tree was so straight and handsome a shoot, about 55 years ago, that Seth Ross bought it for 50 cents, intending to set it out in his orchard and graft it; but he postponed action until it was finally too large to transplant. This apple tree is near the cellar of the Peters house. Israel Peters (1788-1872), who lived here in 1827, built for the town the road over Buck Hill where there had been previously only a cart path. He afterward moved to East Boston, Conn. Rossel Burlingame bought the place in 1833 and lived here for a time. There was then an orchard, clover lot and pasture on the east side of the road. The buildings on this place which were standing in 1835¹ were gone before 1840.

The Scott Tragedy.

James Scott, an Irishman, cleared a patch of land on the west side of the Wallum Pond road at its junction with the Buck Hill road and built a shanty, where he usually lived alone, about 1856. He kept two cows, a pig, and a big black dog. He walked to and from his place of work in the White Mill, at Bridgeton, drank hard and had the reputation of being quarrelsome when intoxicated. He was missing one winter night and no trace of him was found until the ice broke up the next spring, when his body was found in Wilson's Pond. Although certain persons were suspected of foul play, no official action was ever taken. The Scott cabin was afterward taken to Chepachet by Job Smith.

The Wells Place.

A few rods before reaching the Buck Hill corner, a road on the left leads through the woods to the Wells place. Rossel Burlingame bought this farm of Levi Eddy, Oct. 11, 1834. Arnold Hunt and Dennis Hunt bought it in 1838, and, in 1839, sold to Silas and William Howard. Amasa Seamans, who had a wooden leg, bought it, Jan. 5, 1842, and lived there with a large family for many years. Seamans also owned the Israel

¹ Seth Ross to writer.

Peters place. He sold out to go to Minnesota, and Esten Angell (1809-1889), who had bought out the Seamans, sold to Alfred L. Wells, Sept. 23, 1869. Wells and wife were living on this place up to about 1910. Since their death, Henry Johnson, who was a slave in Virginia before the Civil War, has occupied the house. In spite of his 84 years, he has few gray hairs, all his natural teeth, and is able to cut cord wood and enjoy life in a way which astonishes younger folks.

The Whipple Angell Place.

Continuing on the highway toward Pascoag about 500 feet beyond the Buck Hill Road, is a sharp turn to the right. On the east side of this turn, was a house which Whipple Angell (1793-1862) bought of James Stone, May 23, 1829. There were seven acres of cleared land about this place. Angell never lived here but rented it to negroes and others. The barn belonging to this farm was carried to Marieville, North Providence, where it was still standing a few years ago. An old road led easterly near this house across Clear River to the East Highway, thus giving a short cut for the Round Top folks to go over Buck Hill. This highway was abandoned by the town, May 20, 1809¹. This place had so completely grown up to woods that lumber was cut here, about 1910.

The Chase Lot.

A few rods further on and easterly of the highway, about 100 feet north of Round Pond brook, was the house owned by Joseph and Ambrose Chase and later by other members of the Chase family from 1812 to 1825². The land was cleared quite extensively east of the road as shown by the stone walls and stone heaps. This farm had an orchard to the east side and woodland on the west of the road. The place was sold to Duty Esten, April 2, 1833. Asahel Alger built another house on this

¹ Records of the Burrillville Town Council, Vol I.

² The writer is uncertain whether this was a relative of, or the same Dr. Jos. Chase of Cumberland, who bought Elizabeth Gibbs' share of Dr. Gibbs' estate from James Burroughs, March 5, 1771.

site about 1860. There is a maple tree about 15 inches in diameter (1920) growing from the cellar.

The next farm below the Chase lot had been originally laid out in the right of Stephen Dexter, but was cleared and occupied by Randall Angell (1767-1855), who kept a hotel there at one time.

The Porter Place.

In going from Wallum Pond toward Thompson, a few rods after turning into the Buck Hill Road, one passes Daniel Porter's old place. He bought 13 acres of land of Amasa Seamans. August 24, 1850. He was sometimes called Doctor and was said to have had a plentiful supply of pills, but is not known to have practiced here. He worked some at shoemaking; his son, Mason W., was also a shoemaker and later lived at the Sanborn house. Porter cleared some of the land on both sides of the road, dug the well and built the stone walls which are there to-day. In digging his well, he found some clear pieces of quartz which were said to have been hard enough to cut glass a few times and which he thought were diamonds, a circumstance that provoked enough neighborhood gossip and amusement to be remembered by the old timers. Nearly opposite this place is a wood road leading southwesterly to Round Pond. In 1855, Porter bought the Samuel Cruff farm and moved away.

The Ward Place.

On the northerly side of the Buck Hill road about a third of a mile westerly of its junction with the Sanatorium road near a large flat stone by a bar way is an old cellar and well. This has always been called the Ward Place, from Eugene, Hiram, and Wm. Ward, who lived there at one time. The only interesting thing known about the Ward Place is how it came to end¹. It was last occupied, about 1842, by Indians and negroes, who were guilty of various acts of mischief, including the throwing of a bull down the well. They did not move when Randall Angell, the owner, ordered them out, but, somewhat later, went down to

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¹ Statement to writer by Wm. R. Angell and others.

the sea shore for the summer. One night, Randall's son, Esten, and two neighbors, Hawkins and Ross, went to the Ward house. A few hours sawing of the beams made the old house collapse, and they returned to bed. When, the next day, a neighbor told Randall that the Ward house was flat, the latter appeared surprised and indignant. The lumber of this house went into Randall Angell's cattle shed.

The Twist Place.

About half way between the Ward Place and the top of Buck Hill, on the north side of the highway, is the cellar of a house once occupied by Asa Twist. The house was probably there in 1806 on the separation of Burrillville from Glocester, as it is named in the Burrillville school records as a dividing line between Wallum Pond and Buck Hill districts and it had probably disappeared before 1819, as it was not remembered by Esten Angell¹.

The Trask Place.

One who ascends Buck Hill from the east and sees the masses of boulders which almost cover the ground can but marvel at the courage of one who would attempt to clear land and build a house there. Yet we find a good foundation and cellar a few feet from the north side of the road at the foot of the last pitch, and partly cleared land to the northward. William Trask, who claimed to have been a veteran of the War of 1812 and who lived to be 107 years old, owned this place as early as 1826; the house was gone and the place grown up to weeds before 1850.

¹ Wm. R. Angell to writer.

Notes

The Rhode Island Society of the Colonial Daughters of the Seventeenth Century has issued a leaflet entitled "History of the United States Flag." It is for use in the public schools of Rhode Island.

The second volume of the Rhode Island Court Records covering the period, 1662 to 1670, has been printed and placed on sale by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The April Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society contains a paper by Mr. Jonas Bergner on "The Old House on Franklin Street" and one by Mrs. William P. Buffum on "The Story of the Old Friends' Meeting House."

Antiques for May contains an illustrated article on John Goddard of Newport and his furniture by Walter A. Dyer.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Charles K. Baker Mr. Stephen C. Harris Mr. Horatio E. Bellows Mr. Charles F. Heartman Mrs. Charles Bradley Miss Hope K. Hodgman Mr. Arthur D. Champlin Mr. John S. Holbrook Mr. William P. Chapin Mrs. Donald E. Jackson Mrs. Henry G. Clark Mr. Francis B. Kinney Mrs. Henry I. Cushman Mrs. Webster Knight Mrs. Murray S. Danforth Mrs. I. Harris Metcalf Mr. Robert T. Downs Mr. James A. Pirce Mr. Cyrus T. Eddy Mr. B. Thomas Potter Mr. William H. Eddy Mr. Robert L. Spencer Mr. Preston H. Gardner Miss Louise Tillinghast Miss Annette M. Ham Mr. William P. Young

Four Sunday afternoon talks were held in March with an average attendance of about seventy-five persons.

The speakers and subjects were as follows:

March 5-Mr. Donald Cowell, "Rhode Island's Gift to Telephony."

March 12—Mr. Howard W. Preston, "Rochambeau and the French in Providence."

March 19-Mr. Norman M. Isham, "Dating of Early Houses."

March 26-Mrs. William H. Eddy, "How to Trace One's Ancestry."

Prof. Verner W. Crane read, before the April meeting, a paper entitled "Christopher Champlin, Merchant," illustrating the business customs and trade routes of Rhode Island ship owners in the period preceding and following the Revolution.

Among the many important accessions to the Library is the Stukeley Westcott Bible, the gift of Miss Lucetta A. Stone. This invaluable addition to our Library belonged to one of the original proprietors of Providence, and is one of four books remaining of those owned by the early settlers.

Mrs. Louise Lewis Lovell has presented the Society with her recent publication, "The Biography of Israel Angell." In addition to the biography, the volume contains over one hundred and fifty pages of transcription of original contemporary material dealing with the Revolution, supplementing on a large scale the "Diary of Israel Angell," published some years ago.

The Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames has issued a book on American Samplers, by Bolton and Coe, a copy of which has been recently presented to the Society by the late Mrs. Samuel Powel.

Other gifts are as follows:

Nine volumes of their Manuscript Record Books, presented by the Providence Franklin Society.

Two fire buckets, marked "I. Angell," presented by Mrs. Rebecca F. Bradford.

A steel dye of the seal which belonged to Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, presented by Mr. William L. Manchester, of Bristol, Rhode Island.

Index to "Mayflower Descendants and Their Marriages," written and presented by Dr. Frank T. Calef.

An Indian corn grinding stone found on Wallum Hill, the gift of Mr. Ernest Singleton.

View of Providence (oil painting) the bequest of Miss Lucy A. Metcalf.

A volume of manuscripts, relating to the Ballou family, presented by Mrs. William Ballou.

One of the four mourning rings for Washington's hair has been presented by Col. George L. Shepley. It is the Abby Chase ring. There is an account of these rings and hair in the *Providence Journal* of Feb. 9, 1908, March 8, 1908, and July 25, 1920.

A manuscript genealogy of the Davis family consisting of 42 closely typewritten pages has been copied and added to the Society's Library.

Mr. George F. Dow of Boston has made an index of all the Rhode Island items which appeared in Boston newspapers before 1750 and his compilation is of great service to historical students. It has been purchased by Col. Shepley and can be consulted at the Shepley Library on Benefit Street.

Dr. Calef is at work on tracing the descendants of Roger Williams for two generations beyond the point that they are carried in Austin's "Ancestry of Thirty-Three Rhode Islanders." He will appreciate any data along these lines.

Colonial Distinguishing Flags.

A manuscript in the Rhode Island State Archives describes the distinguishing flags, then called vanes, that were used by the various contingents in the Canadian expedition of 1746. It is as follows:

"The Massachusetts Transports to Wear a Broad White Vane with a blue Ball at the Main Top Gallant Mast head.

"The Connecticut, Rhode Island & New Hampshire Vessells to Wear a Broad Blue Vane with a White Ball at the Main Top Gallant Mast head.

"The Transports from England, to wear a Broad Red Vane at the Main Top Gallant Mast head.

"These are for distinction."

(Letters, 1746, p. 36.)

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Captain Kidd in Narragansett Bay

The following account is from Campbell's manuscript "News-Letter."

"Boston, June the 19, 1699.

"Last thursday Capt. Kid came into Road Island harber; the Governour sent the Collector in a boat with about 30 men well armed in order to goe on board, but Kid shot 2 great Guns, which caused the Collector to retreat. Kids Sloope has 10 Guns, 8 Patteraroes."¹ June 19, 1699, fell on Monday, so that the preceding Thursday was June 15th. The East Passage of Narragansett Bay is called Rhode Island Harbour on the Des Barras chart of 1776. The Capt. Kid mentioned in this item is William Kidd, alias Robert Kidd, perhaps the most famous pirate. A letter discovered in 1849, dated 1700-1, and signed Robert Kid, is printed in part in Field's "Rhode Island," vol. 1, p. 541; and in full in the life of Robert Kidd, published in Palmer, Mass., in 1850. A deposition of Thomas Paine of Conanicut in regard to Capt. Kidd's visit to the bay in 1699 is printed in the R. I. Hist. Mag., vol. 6, p. 156.

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Feb. 1873, p. 422.

Recollections of Mount Vernon Bank

(Written by Rachael Knight Budlong¹, about 1880.)

The Mount Vernon Bank was situated in Foster near the Coventry line on the Plainfield Pike or stage road about two miles east of Rice City. The founders of the bank were Col. Nathaniel Stone, Pardon Holden, Elisha Fish and Peleg Place. The bank was chartered² about 1824 and commenced operations in the fall of 1825, with Peleg Place as Cashier and Nathaniel Stone as President. The bank was kept for a few months in the west front chamber of the two storied house, which was owned and occupied by Pardon Holden. It was afterwards removed to a stone building which had been built by Dr. Thomas Carpenter and used for a while as a store after which it was sold to Pardon Holden. This building, together with a shed, stood a short distance west of his house, and was leased by him to the bank for as long a time as it should be used for banking purposes after which it should revert to Holden or his heirs.

Mount Vernon village, called after the bank, was a thriving village at that time. There were then two stages on the road, each driver carried a long tin horn which he blew before coming to a dwelling house. The stage house or tavern was kept by Elisha Fish, and was later sold to Moses Potter.

Mr. Holden was an enterprising man. He owned a large country store, which at that time meant to buy and sell everything. He had a plough shop for the manufacture of cast iron ploughs, the first that were made in Rhode Island. Doct. Thomas O. H. Carpenter, quite a celebrated doctor, had an office and boarded in the place. They also had a post office³ and with all it was a busy, lively village.

¹ Sister of Charles Morgan Stone, cashier of the bank.

² The bank was chartered in October, 1823. See Acts & Resolves of R. I., Oct. 1823, p. 62. Iri Brown was a director. See Bayles Hist. of Prov. Co., vol. 2, p. 636.

³ The Post Office was called Mount Vernon in 1866, but the village is now called Vernon.

Col. Nathaniel Stone was the first president and Pardon Holden was the second, the latter served until his death, which occurred in 1831. The next was Samuel Tillinghast.

Peleg Place was the first cashier and a stockholder. He filled that office for eleven years when, becoming infirm from age, Charles M. Stone was chosen to take his place, which he held for eight years, when in the spring of 1844, he removed to Providence to take charge of an agency¹ connected with the bank, a large amount of the business being done in the city. Raymond G. Place was the next and last cashier.

The daughter of Pardon Holden remembers distinctly riding home from Providence with her father, the latter bringing large sums of money in his breast pocket, often times not arriving until dark, something never done at the present time. He went to and fro two or three times a week without molestation although completely unarmed. Mr. Holden was a large and exceedingly powerful man fully able to cope with any opposition he was likely to meet in those days. He served the bank in this and every way in which he could further its interests until his health failed. Afterwards the packages of money were sent by the driver of the mail stage or any person considered perfectly reliable and not a dollar was ever lost in transportation. Fiftyfive years ago there were very few houses this side of the bridge.

The bank some years ago was removed to Providence² and consequently, by the terms of the lease, the bank building reverted to the heirs of Pardon Holden.

Notes

Miss Louise C. Hoppin presented to the Society a set of the books illustrated by Augustus Hoppin.

A number of genealogies have been added to the Library.

¹ See Field's Rhode Island, vol. 3, p. 300.

² The Rhode Island Historical Society has on exhibition six of the Mount Vernon Bank bills issued after the bank moved to Providence. Joseph Belcher was president in 1857 and 1858. H. G. Place was cashier in 1857 and S. C. Arnold in 1858.

The most important of these accessions is a genealogy of the Cooke family by Albert Welles, New York, 1880.

The Society has recently received several valuable manuscripts. The largest collection is the "Utley Papers," original manuscripts relating to Tiverton and Little Compton, the gift of Mr. Samuel Utley of Worcester, Mass. Mr. L. H. Austin presented the original manuscript will¹ of Joseph Williams, son of Roger. The Society was fortunate in obtaining a muster roll of several companies of the Rhode Island Militia that served during the War of 1812. Mr. Edwin P. Anthony presented the royal commission granted to Robert Robinson as Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court in 1714.

When in England last spring, Mr. William Davis Miller took a photograph of the church at High Lever, Essex, where Roger Williams was married. He has had an enlargement made of this photograph and has given it to the Society.

"Rhode Island's Gift to Telephony," the talk which Mr. Donald Cowell gave before the Society last March, has been printed in the Providence Magazine for May, 1922.

Two new publications of Rhode Island interest have been recently received. They are the "Records of the Court of Trials of the Town of Warwick, R. I., 1659-1674," from the original manuscript in the Shepley Library, and Norman M. Isham's guide to "Wickford and its Neighborhood."

Mrs. Frederick Allien of Riverdale on Hudson, Mr. George R. Burgess of Providence and Mrs. Edward S. Moulton of Providence have been admitted to membership in the Society.

A coat worn by Richard Smith of Cocumscussuc has been added to the Society's museum, the gift of Mr. Walter Hidden.

An exhibition of Rhode Island State Bank bills has been arranged in the exhibition cases in the Portrait Gallery. Over 100 specimens are shown. In addition to those owned by the Society, there are exhibited others loaned by Col. George L. Shepley and Mr. Edward Aborn Greene. Col. H. Martin Brown presented the Society with the Pascoag Bank bill. These bank

¹ R. I. H. S. Ms. XI, p. 50.

bills were used during the period between the Revolution and the Civil War. The exhibition contains not only bills in the state of circulation, but also cancelled bills, restrikes, unsigned specimens, and two synthetic bills, apparently to be used as models by engravers. Some copper and steel plates from which the bills were struck are also shown. These copper plates were engraved by the local Providence engraver, William Hamlin, the man who engraved the first published view of Providence¹.

"The Charter and By-Laws of the Newport Guards," printed at Newport by Henry C. Southwick and Co., "Three doors South of the Cap of Liberty" in 1794 has been added to the Shepley Library. It is a hitherto unknown Newport imprint².

Early Rhode Island Seals

Many of the early Rhode Islanders used distinctive seals. Those of James Sweet, 1662 (XI, p. 100). Gregory Dexter, which was used by his son in 1716, R. I. H. S. Ms. I., p. 129 (XII, p. 114), Robert Jeoffreys (XIII, p. 52), Richard Waterman, 1729 (XIII, opp. p. 139), John Greene, Jr. (XIV, p. 5), and William Coddington (XIV, p. 32), have been illustrated in our "Collections." William Ellery's seal is reproduced in the Newport Historical Magazine, IV, p. 184, with a note on page 259, the Lawton seal is described in the Rhode Island Historical Magazine, VI, p. 140, and also the seals of other Newport residents, 1675-1783, VI, pages 67 to 71. Seals of other Rhode Islanders are reproduced in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, series 4, volumes VI and VII, and series 5, volume I, and also in the Heraldic Journal, 1865-68.

¹ R. I. H. S. Coll. vol. XII, frontispiece.

² Cf. R. I. H. S. Coll. vol. XIV, p. 94.





Governor Benedict Arnold (1615-1678) used two personal seals. One was a conventional scroll with the letters B, D, and A, signifying Benedict and Damaris Arnold. There are several impressions of this seal extant, one of the finest of them being on a deed dated 1676, and preserved at the Rhode Island Historical Society. The other seal is a foul anchor between the letters B. A. This silver seal is still preserved and is on exhibition in the museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society. This seal¹ may have been the Colony seal of 1660, which was discarded in 1664 when Benedict Arnold was Governor. He may have bought the old Colony seal and had his initials added. It is of course possible that Arnold may have merely copied the Colony seal and added his initials. In the Rider Collection, Brown University, there is an impression of this Arnold anchor seal made in 1800 by Samuel Chace.



The seal used by John Banister of Newport on a deed dated 1741 in the Tillinghast Papers, vol. I, p. 1, in Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

¹ See Chapin's The Seal, the Arms and the Flag of Rhode Island, p. 2.



The armorial seal used by John Clarke on his will dated 1676 and preserved at the Newport Historical Society. John Clarke was Deputy Governor and Agent for the Colony.



The seal of John Coggeshall of Newport, President of the Colony in 1647. From manuscripts in the Connecticut Archives, Colonial Boundary, vol. I, pp. 103 and 109.



The seal of John Greene of Warwick. This seal appears in the Warner Papers, vol. I, pages 6 (1659), 8 (1665), 11 (1668), and 62 (1696). It may have been one of the early Colony seals with the initials I. G. added after the seal had been discarded by the Colony.



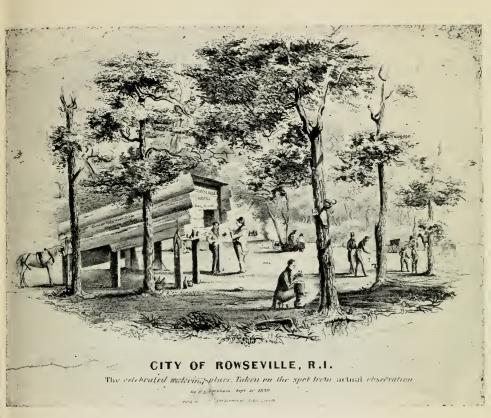
The seal of Samuel Gorton is a conventional design with his initials. It appears in the Greene Papers, page 2, the Warner Papers, vol. I, pages 31, 56, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 83, and 84, in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library; Providence Town Papers 090 in the City Hall, and on a letter in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Their impression of this seal has been reproduced in M. H. S. C. 4, VII, plate 11.



The seal of Daniel Gould of Newport is somewhat similar to that of Samuel Gorton. Daniel Gould (1625-1716) was the son of Jeremiah Gould, one of the early settlers of Newport. His seal appears in the Warner Papers, vol. 1, p. 57, in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.



William Harris was one of the founders of Providence. His seal appears on a power of attorney, dated 1678, on page 109 of the Harris Papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society.



(Manuscript note on reverse of lithograph)

This was a celebrated watering place on border of Old Warwick Pond, where there was an annual outing of 12 to 20 gentlemen for fishing and dinner and sports. They were largely the merchants on South Water Street and quite a number of them were cotton buyers, residing South most of the year, but coming home in Summer. Captain Shubael Cady, Master of the Brig *Rouse* usually arranged for the outing at "Rouseville." Among its members were the Browns, Col. W. W., "Zeph" and "Nat", Allen Mathewson, Jeremiah Gladding, brother of Ben C. who resided on Arnold St. This cartoon is from the pencil of E. L. Peckham, better known as "Ned" Peckham, "taken on the spot."

From lithograph at Rhode Island Historical Society

THE FORERUNNER OF THE SQUANTUM CLUB



KID. bel & Sc.

CITY OF ROUSEVILLE, R. I. (Manuscript note on reverse of engraving)

The "Hotel" at this watering place as picture shows was kept by one imaginary "John Smith", who makes quite an exhibit of "Wet goods;" and the only food is a fish hanging on the Hotel, and suggestive of great thrift. The corpulent "gent" at the door requesting him to "pay up" is the genial Capt. Cady, who usually figured expenses and divided the same among the members and usually collected same before dinner, a very wise precaution, where some might forget to settle after a full dinner. The gentlemen on the right, engaged in pitching cents, are of high character and we don't think they played "for keep"; they never acquired the habits of regular gamblers. The "gent" in foreground on the low stool, frying fish, is recognized by his brother, Benj. C., as Jeremiah Gladding. These gatherings continued for some years at different places, at last developing into the present Squantum Club.

From engraving at Rhode Island Historical Society



The seal of Ezekiel Holliman, who died in 1659, may be a portrait of St. John the Baptist. Holliman spread the Baptist teachings at Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick. The seal appears on pages 1 and 36 in volume III of Manuscript Deeds, at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.



The above seal was used by Obadiah Holmes, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Newport, on his will dated 1682, which is owned by the Newport Historical Society.



The armorial seal of Samuel Hutchinson is reproduced from the Heraldic Journal, vol. II, p. 183. Samuel Hutchinson was son of William and Anne Hutchinson. The above seal appears on his will, which is dated 1667.



The seal of Thomas Olney, Junior, of Providence, appears on many papers in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, a few of which are: R. I. H. S. Ms. I, pages 84, 88, 94, 96, 98, and 106, Deeds III, pages 2, 5, 6, and 7; and Esten Papers 19, 27 and 29.



The seal of Richard Scott was used by his wife, Katherine, on a letter dated Providence 17-4-1658, and preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society Library. M. H. S. C. 5, I, 96, and plate 2. Richard Scott and Katherine Morbury were married at Berkhamsted, Co. Herts, England, on June 7, 1632.



The armorial seal used by Richard Smith of Cocumscussuc, R. I., on a letter preserved in the Connecticut Archives.

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The above seal was used by Mary Holliman on an agreement dated Feb. 22, 1668, and now owned by a descendant, Howard M. Chapin. Mary Holliman married first John Sweet, one of the early settlers of Providence, and secondly Ezekiel Holliman, one of the early settlers of Warwick.



This seal was used by Stukely Westcott in 1656, on a manuscript now in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Harris Papers, p. 13. Stukely Westcott's son was named Robert. This seal probably belonged to some earlier member of the Westcott family with initials R. W.



The armorial seal used by Roger Williams in 1637 and 1638 on letters, now preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society Library. These letters are printed in M. H. S. C. 4, VI, 231-3, 242-4, 248-9, 252-3, 254-61, 266-7, and the seal illustrated on plate 3. There is a discussion of these arms in R. I. H. S. News-sheet, No. 39. It appears probable that they are the arms of the family of Williams of Llangibby, Monmouthshire, with the gyronny lines omitted through carelessness or else cut so lightly that their impression is not now discernible in the wax. These arms were "Gyronny of eight ermine and ermines, a lion rampant or," but are given by Burke as ermine and sable instead of ermine and ermines, and illustrated by Burke as argent and sable. Roger Williams of Llangibby, the head of that family, died in 1575.



William Field of Providence was for years a member of the General Assembly. He died in 1665. His seal appears on pages 6 and 7 of the Field Papers, which are preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

The Wallum Pond Estates By Harry Lee Barnes

(Continued from July Number)

Round Pond.

This pond, having an area of about 50 acres, lies deep in the woods about a mile and a half southwest of Wallum Pond and half a mile south of the Buck Hill road. The outlet on the east side has been deepened to allow the pond to be drawn down a little. According to Keech, friendly Mohawks trapped otter on Round Pond brook in the old days. On the northerly side of the Pond, about 200 feet from the shore, is a boulder of about 12 feet in heighth and breadth, against which we are told a gang of counterfeiters once built their work hut. The chimney of this cabin was still standing 50 years ago, but now only the fireplace remains. On the northeasterly side of the Pond, near a large flat ledge, is a swampy ravine about 300 feet wide running northeasterly. The rocky ridge on the southern side of this ravine terminates about 1,000 feet from the pond at "Money Rocks." This small rocky cavern, in which tradition¹ says the counterfeiters hid their tools and money is entered from above through a triangular opening, measuring 34 by 38 by 49 inches. The cave is large enough to hold two or three men, but is not high enough to allow one to stand erect. Formerly the opening could be completely closed by a triangular flat stone which had been displaced from and which nicely fitted the aperture, but the opening has been enlarged in recent years by the action of the weather. It has always been believed that the tools and other incriminating evidences of their work were thrown into the Pond when the nature of the work was suspected. In his history of Burrillville, Keech gives an interesting account of the detection and trial of these counterfeiters. He states that one of the counterfeiters became intoxicated at Brandy Hill Tavern in

¹ Wm. R. Angell was shown Money Rocks by his grandfather, Esten Angell, and the latter by his father, Randall Angell.

Thompson and passed so much new counterfeit money as to arouse suspicion, which lead to his arrest. Among the suspected were Arnold Hunt and Zadoc Sherman (1783-1870), the latter, as a boy of 12, caught the men at their work¹ and was admitted to the gang to induce him to hold his tongue. There is a tradition that Arnold Hunt was put on trial for counterfeiting. No convictions were ever made, according to Keech, because it involved too many prominent people, some of whom were related to the Judge. There is good reason for thinking that part of their dies and other tools were made by Arnold Sayles (1773-1860), who was a very able workman. The writer has seen some of the tools which Sayles is alleged to have made for these counterfeiters. One of these dies made for a coin about the size of a quarter is inscribed "Carlos III Dei Gratia 1789." These counterfeit operations had previously been carried on in Thompson. The counterfeiting at Round Pond covered a considerable period from about 1786 to 1795. Spanish money was counterfeited because it was in common use. A tradition persists that some of the dies were made in Canada and that some of the counterfeit money was put in circulation in that country. On the south side of this pond, a short distance from the shore, is the cellar of the Stanfield house. Several acres had once been cleared about it. About 1840, a man by the name of Robbins cleared up several acres on the southeast shore, built a cabin and lived there with his family². He burned charcoal and carted it to Providence for sale. The Robbins cabin was a wreck by 1850, but the cellar and stone heaps can be plainly seen to-day in the thick woods where one would little expect them.

The Buck Hill Woods.

The Buck Hill Woods is a wilderness of ridges and hills, thickly strewn with boulders and covered with scrub oak, broken by occasional high black oak or scrub pine stumps which have been charred by forest fires. The wood road, leading westerly

¹ Zadoc Sherman to Barton Jacobs to writer.

² Sylvester Angell to writer.

from the present Sanatorium pig house, divides at the top of the first ridge, and the left hand fork, after two or three hundred yards, leads to a high ledge of rocks of unusual appearance and known from the earliest times as Badger Mountain. Whether the name came from a supposed resemblance to a badger or because this animal was at one time found there is not known. The wood road continues southwesterly about half a mile beyond Badger Mountain, where, in a depression of land, is a small pond about 200 feet long by 100 feet wide and 4 to 6 feet deep. This pond is fed by springs and yet is apparently without an outlet or running off brook. The easterly side of the pond, about its middle, was the site of William Angell's steam sawmill, about 1903. Six or seven hundred feet northwesterly of this pond is Goat Rock, a ledge about 80 feet long, with a perpendicular face on the easterly side, 15 to 20 feet high. Why it is called Goat Rock, no one seems to know. It might well have been called "coon rock," as it seems to have been a favorite resort for raccoons. At the foot of the northerly end of the Goat Rock is a brook which in the springtime, is, perhaps, half the size of Clear River, and this brook is believed to drain the Angell sawmill pond by an underground passage. After flowing about 100 feet on the surface, in direction a little west of southwest, it disappears underground to reappear later on its way to join the Leeson Brook.

On the Buck Hill highway, six-tenths of a mile southeasterly of Orrin Whiting's, one crosses a brook which flows southwesterly into Quadick Reservoir in Thompson and in its lower course, in the Buck Hill district, is known as the Lewis Brook. This brook is formed by the union of several small brooks which rise in the Buck Hill woods westerly and southwesterly of the Sanatorium. The Leeson Brook, so named from one Leeson, who many years ago had a house and clearing near it, may be considered the main brook in the sense that it is the longest, rises about eight-tenths of a mile west of the southern end of Wallum Pond and flows southerly, receiving branches from the east. About a third of a mile northerly of the Buck Hill road, a brook enters from the east called the "Boiling Spring Brook." Follow-

ing up this brook in an easterly direction, about half a mile through Boiling Spring Cedar Swamp, one comes to the Boiling Spring, a circular spring, perhaps 8 feet in diameter, where the water, which is cold, can be seen to rise or "boil" up from the ground. A pole can be stuck in the bottom of the spring 10 or 15 feet, without reaching firm bottom. About 300 feet easterly of this spring is a brook which comes from a swamp about 20 rods northeasterly of the cellar hole of the William Trask house. In high water this brook runs overground into the Boiling Spring, but at other times it is lost underground, probably reappearing in the Boiling Spring Brook. The Trask Swamp Brook is dry in summer, but, no matter how dry the weather, the Boiling Spring pours out a generous stream of water. About half a mile northerly of Goat Rock Brook is another brook which runs southeasterly into Leeson Brook. This brook starts in a swamp about half a mile southwesterly of Wallum Pond, disappears for some distance, and then reappears in a spring of water, very cold from its underground journey and called Cold Spring Brook. Leeson Brook, like its tributaries, has a trick of disappearing in some places in the upper part of its course.

Coon Cave lies about half a mile westerly of the southern end of Wallum Pond in a ledge of rocks about 50 feet long by 10 feet high, facing the west. At the foot of the ledge is an opening in the rocks into which a man can crawl about 15 feet. A torch shows many crevices and holes extending about 20 feet farther and large enough to form hiding places for animals. This small cave has been a favorite place for bats in summer time and many a coon and fox have here found safe retreat from hunters. On the westerly side of the ledge is a swampy pond hole about 200 feet long by 60 feet wide, filled with swamp huckleberry bushes of unusual height. This swamp drains northerly into a small pond of clear water of about the same size. A few rods westerly and in plain sight of this pond, is a prominent irregular ledge of rocks known as Rattlesnake Ledge. Over 50 years ago, Reuben Dudley spent 3 or 4 days about here catching rattlesnakes for a circus. The rattlesnakes were caught by pinning their heads to the ground with a forked stick and

then seizing the snakes and depositing them in a bag. Dudley¹ caught 20 rattlesnakes, for which he was paid \$100. On the easterly side of the pond, by Rattlesnake Ledge, is the running out or outlet brook, which, after the fashion of Buck Hill streams, runs underground for a considerable distance. The water, though out of sight, can be heard on its way to Wallum Pond. The reason for the disappearance of the brooks in the Buck Hill woods is found in the enormous number of boulders so thickly piled together that in many places one may walk for long distances without touching earth. The water, falling several feet through the crevices between these boulders, which, in some places have a thin covering of moss, leaf mould, or loam, is often lost to sight and hearing.

The Clear River Reservoir Co.

The value of Wallum Pond as a reservoir for the Bridgeton mills has always been considerable. These mill owners are said to have paid Darling to open his gates at the outlet of the pond until these outlet gates were finally bought by Marsh and later, Sept. 18, 1860, by Augustus Hopkins of Bridgeton. The Clear River Reservoir Co., a chartered corporation, afterward leased Wilson's Pond, Sept. 20, 1866, and raised the dam 7 feet, thus enlarging Wilson's Pond. They also built a new dam and gate and deepened the trench at the outlet of Wallum Pond so that the pond can be drawn four feet lower than before. The old log dam at the north outlet was replaced by one of stone. Their questionable deed to flow the land about Wallum Pond to any height was never carried out. The right of the Clear River Reservoir Co. to sell and market ice was sold to Wm. E. Bowen, March 23, 1900.

O'Neil's Camp.

This land was originally sold from John Howland's farm and at one time belonged to Howland Kimball. The name of Nehe-

¹ In a newspaper account a few years before his death, it was stated that Dudley, who frequently hunted in the Douglas and Buck Hill woods, had caught or killed 700 coons, 150 foxes, 21 otter, 67 rattlesnakes and 250 swarms of wild bees. This statement is credited by reliable persons who knew him.

miah Kimball, who formerly lived on this place, begins to appear in the deeds as early as 1815. He at first lived in a log house on the south side of the road¹. After a few years, he built a frame house on the north side of the road, where the cellar hole is still readily seen. He married Cyrene, daughter of Israel Aldrich, a farmer on Wallum Pond Hill, and lived on the O'Neil place until his death in 1849. His wife lived here as late as 1860 and then lived in Mapleville with her son. Daniel. This house was bought by a man named Moore, who moved it to Pascoag for a fish market. Mrs. Kimball sold the place to James Dockery in 1864. John Riley owned the place from 1872 until 1903, when it was bought by the Pascoag Fishing Club, so called, Thos. O'Neil and seven other men, each of whom owned two or threetwentieths of the property. The small cabin built in 1894 was replaced by the present camp in 1903. Mr. O'Neil, who conducted the place, gave clambakes and entertained fishermen and others.

The Railroad.

The origin of the Providence and Springfield Railroad, which was built to Pascoag in 1872-1873, was described to the writer by the late William Tinkham, the Harrisville manufacturer, who was President of this railroad, substantially as follows :---"The water furnishing insufficient power for the mills, we had burned wood largely up to 1872, when the wood was pretty well cut off and we were so far in the country that it was too expensive to haul coal over the road. I met Albert L. Sayles in the Arcade in Providence one day and said to him, 'We must build a railroad up there, and we can't get on without it.' Mr. Sayles said, 'Yes, but we can't do it alone; we must get someone to help.' I went to my office and wrote an article for the Providence Journal, and Mr. Danielson, the editor, wrote an editorial. After one month's advertisement and agitation, we tried to sell stock and got \$200,000 easily. The trains started to run in August, 1873." The plans for the extension from Pascoag to

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¹ Mrs. Nehemiah Kimball, Jr., to writer.

Southbridge, passing by the east and north sides of Wallum Pond, were made July 11, 1891, and most of the deeds of the property to the railroad for this extension were made in 1892 and 1893. Service between Pascoag and Southbridge was discontinued for a time but was recommenced after the erection of the State Sanatorium. The Providence to Southbridge line was sold to the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company Oct. 30, 1905, the sum named being \$569,195.

The Red House on the Hill.

This house, near the southern end of Wallum Pond Hill with a commanding view toward Pascoag, was originally part of the Capt. John Whipple farm and later of the John Howland farm. It was subsequently bought by the Phillipses, who owned the factory and who probably used it for their mill employees. On the division of the Phillips's mill estate by the court, Israel Aldrich bought this place. Dutee Logee once lived here. While the mills were running, Daniel Kimball, Aldrich's grandson, had a good country store in this house, and, at one time, Sabin Millard had a saloon with a bowling alley in the basement. Joseph Bowdish and Lovell Parker lived there for a time. Martin H. Smith sold the place to James Dockery, July 7, 1860. Dockery was a big Irishman who had a large family. There is a tradition that there was once a distillery for moonshine corn whiskey in the woods about a half mile east of the Wallum Lake Station. In 1872 this place was sold to John Riley and Alfred Angell (1841-1884), who lived there together until Riley bought out Angell. Riley sold to the Pascoag Fishing Club, so called, May 7, 1903, from whom it was bought by Mr. Singleton. Since then, it has been for the most part unoccupied. The barn burned down about 1907. This place was considered as a site for the Sanatorium before the present site was purchased.

Quarries.

About a mile from the Wallum Lake Depot, toward Pascoag, on both sides of the railroad one sees where stone has been quarried. This work began almost immediately after the building of the railroad. Henry Mathewson, of Providence, took a 50 years lease of six acres on the southwesterly side of the railroad, Sept. 21, 1893. The land on the opposite side of the track was leased to John Leavet, who, until 1906, quarried stone there and also near the Providence Ice Company's spur track at the north end of the pond, where much building stone had been obtained in the old days. The quarry near the ice house was in a ledge formerly called the Snake Den. This stone was said to be a granite good for foundations, but not good enough for monuments, as it contained mica which fell out and left pits. The granite used in the construction of the Boston Dry Dock was obtained from these quarries.

The Wallum Pond School.

In May, 1800, the Glocester Town Council appointed a committee to divide the town into school districts. The Wallum Pond district was No. 1 and extended south on the Connecticut line to Henry Pollock's, then eastward by the south side of James King's, about half a mile south of the Sanatorium, to Cyrus Logee's, about a mile northeasterly of the Sanatorium and then northward by Lippitt Eddy's to the Massachusetts line. Cvrus Logee¹ was the first to be given a certificate to teach in the Wallum Pond district. The old schoolhouse stood on the north side of the east highway leading from Wallum Pond Hill to Pascoag and a little east of the highway leading from the Ezra Stone or Friery place to the first mentioned highway. When this schoolhouse became old and badly in need of repair, a new one was built in the triangular area where the road from Douglas meets the east road from Wallum Pond to Pascoag, about a quarter of a mile south of the present Singleton house. While it was natural that the factory people should prefer the new site, and Capt. Samuel White and the Logees, the old site, as being nearer to each neighborhood respectively, the bitterness of the quarrel over the two sites so near each other seems amusing at this date. About 1843², the matter was compromised by moving

¹ Records of the Glocester Town Council.

² Statement of Sylvester Angell, who saw the schoolhouse moved.

the new schoolhouse half way between the two sites, where, on the side hill, it could hardly have been satisfactory to anyone. Most of the larger children worked while the mill was running, when the school sometimes declined in number to two or three pupils. During slack time at the factory because of shortage of water, etc., the number of pupils increased to about thirty. This school, with its rattling windows, many wasps, few children and a fifteen-year-old school teacher, made a bad impression on Ellen Wakefield¹, in 1856. Sometime in the fifties, James Riley recalls seeing a man teacher named Kenyon deposited in the woodbox by Alfred Angell, Emory White and William Green. In later times, Burrillville changed the district to exclude the Buck Hill region and extended it southerly to include the A. S. Wells house. The school census shows the enrollment in later years to have been as follows: 1885, 11; 1886, 11; 1887, 9; 1888, 14; 1889, 13; 1890, 13; 1891, 12; 1892, 9; 1893, 6.

In early years the school was taught by Preserved Alger; and in the early fifties, and probably earlier, by Emily King, whose efficiency is still a tradition. In the fifties and sixties, the school was taught by Sarah Wakefield, Mary Paine, Nancy Paine, Nancy Howland, Susan Page and Ellen Paine. In the early eighties by Grace Blake and Maria L. Ross. In the late eighties and nineties, some of the teachers were Lillian Bailey, Maggie Shea and Ella M. Thayer. The school was discontinued in April, 1893, because of the small number of pupils and the school house burned a few years afterward.

George Stone.

On the right hand side of the road running from the schoolhouse corner to the Friery farm, there stood, in the old days, a large two-story gambrel-roof house with two large barns, corn crib and orchard, owned by George Stone. Mr. Stone operated a large cooper shop, wheelwright shop and blacksmith shop; which he bought of Ezra Stone May 17, 1803. On the opposite side of the road was a horsepower cider mill, and at the school-

¹ Statement to writer.

house corner on the south side of the road, near a good spring, were the tannery vats or tubs, parts of which were seen as late as 1850. Mr. Stone's business had disappeared before 1840, the house standing perhaps until 1850. Many individuals of the Stone, Alger and neighboring families were buried in the Stone burying ground north of the George Stone house, near the Friery farm.

The Algers.

Two brothers, Joshua and Preserved Alger, at one time lived in a two-family house on the south side of the road, east of George Stone's corner. The house stood about opposite the recently disused highway leading to the Duty Logee place. In later years John Riley and James Riley lived there. Half of the house was torn down by the latter and the remainder took fire, from ashes left in a barrel, and burned¹. Joshua Alger, who bought the old school-house which stood on the north side of the road, and east of the George Stone corner, built an addition to it and occupied it for some time. When beyond repair, this house was torn down by Patrick Friery.

Enoch Angell's Place.

On the opposite side of the road from the Singleton house and a short distance southerly, was a small house and barn built by Ezra Stone for his son, Amos. The latter sold to Arnold Baker, who lived there in 1834. Baker's mortgage to Randall Angell was never paid, and the property passed through the hands of his son, Brown, to Brown's son, Enoch (1832-1865). The latter removed the foundation wall from one end of the house in excavating for a new addition, and a heavy wind storm tipped the house over and it was allowed to rot². Enoch Angell's only child and heir, Maria Angell Wood, sold the place to Mr. Singleton.

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¹ James Riley to writer.

² Statement to the writer by Sylvester Angell, who at one time owned the house.

The Singleton Farm.

John Howland, a descendant of the John Howland who came over on the Mayflower, carried on the farm after his purchase from Whipple in 1770 until 1802, when he sold to James Burlingame. Buffum Chase, a tanner, bought of Burlingame in 1814. It is not unlikely that Chase conducted or worked in the old tannery. Chase defaulted a mortgage and gave possession to John Arnold in 1819. Randall Angell bought the property with his son, Brown, in 1827, and the latter became sole owner in 1833 and lived there until his death. Brown Angell (1801-1878) was a successful farmer and one of the few in this neighborhood who raised tobacco. His son, Luther, conducted the farm until his death. The farm was bought of the Angell heirs by William Green, a son-in-law of Brown Angell, who held it until his sale to James H. Singleton. About 200 yards southwesterly of the Singleton house is a small burying ground containing field stone monuments without names.

Olney Angell's Place.

This farm, the next one north of Singleton's, from which it is separated by the State line between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, was a part of the "Boston Men's" 1,900-acre tract previously described. It was laid out to John Binning, whose only child and heir, Sarah, married Jeremiah Green, a Boston distiller. Green sold all of this farm east of the Pond, containing 280 acres, to John Hunt, March 2, 1773. John Hunt sold 131 acres to Daniel Hunt in 1775. The latter cleared the land and made his home there until old age, possibly until death. During the Revolution¹, he was arrested on suspicion of being a Tory, but was discharged after satisfying the authorities of his innocence. His widow, Hulda, sold the place to Randall Angell, in 1813. The latter paid for this farm with the proceeds of the corn and rye, beef and pork, butter and cheese raised on the place and carted to Providence by ox-team². Brown Angell, as a boy of 16, carried on this farm alone for months at a time for his

¹ Emerson's History of Douglas, page 75.

² Randall's statement to grandson, Sylvester Angell.

father, having his younger sister with him as housekeeper. When Brown Angell was settled on the present Singleton farm, Olney (1808-1886), another son of Randall Angell, took the place and lived there until his death. The Angells tore down the old Hunt house, which was in bad condition, and built the house now standing. The old cellar of the Hunt house may be seen about 200 feet north of the present house.

The Alexander Ritchie Place.

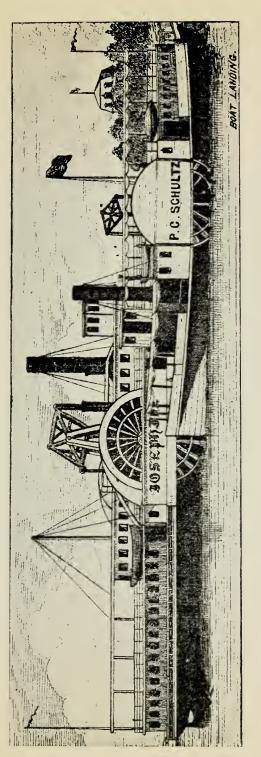
Obadiah Brown, afterward associated with Samuel Slater, the noted manufacturer, who bought the Daniel Hunt place in 1809, failed to pay off his mortgage to Hunt, and after the latter's death the court appointed Israel Aldrich and Richard Mowry to settle the estate. From the northern part of the Hunt place, a 61-acre lot was sold to John Rich of Sutton, September 20, 1813. Benjamin Robbins and John Hunt bought this land the following November and the next April sold to Jonathan Aldrich, a son of Israel Aldrich, who built the first house and lived there until 1849, when he sold to his son-in-law, William Buxton, and moved to Centerdale, R. I. Subsequent owners were Lovell Parker (1810-1891), Michael Roberts, who married Mary Ritchie, aunt of Alexander Ritchie, who bought in 1893. The house burned in 1901 from a forest fire which started from the railroad near the pond, and Ritchie replaced the old house with the present log house.

In the woods on the opposite side of the road, extending a mile from the State line to the Wallum Pond-Douglas school house, is a swamp known as Bear Swamp. There is a tradition⁴ that the last bear in the vicinity was hunted in this swamp. After killing a dog belonging to one Sherman, the bear took refuge in a tree and was killed.

Most of the area eastward of Bear Swamp, extending from the Fairfield road to the Tasseltop road and from the Rhode Island line northward to the Wallum Pond-Douglas school house road, was covered with a hemlock forest from early colonial days

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¹ Statement to the writer by Edwin C. Esten, who received the information from his mother, the daughter of Jonathan Marcy.



From the Daily Graphic, New York, July 24, 1875 The Josephine and the P. C. Schultz at Oakland Beach EARLY NARRAGANSETT BAY STEAMBOATS

in Rhode Island Historical Society Library



IMPLEMENTS USED BY THE NARRAGANSETT INDIANS From the Museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society

down to perhaps 1860. The brook which drains Bear Swamp and flows northeasterly nearly to Tasseltop was named Hembeck (Hemlock) on Dr. Douglas's map.

The Charles Arnold Place.

The cellar hole of this house is the next one north of Ritchie's log house. November 20, 1779, William Menzies bought what remained of Katherine Robertson's lot, cleared the farm and erected buildings. After his death, the administrators sold the property to Daniel Hunt, April 9, 1795. Jonah Brown, Jr., bought part of the property in 1802 and was living there when he sold to Abbee Brown in 1811. Aaron Benson bought it November 4, 1813, and, the following January, sold to Otis Buxton (1786-1873). The latter, with his wife, Salome (1787-1887), and a large family of children, lived there until 1835, when he sold to his son, Daniel, and bought John Martin's place west of Wallum Pond. Daniel Buxton (1812-1897), a rather picturesque and unconventional character, owned, at one time or another, most of the land on the northern part of Wallum Pond Hill. In 1851, he sold to his brother, Allen Buxton (1827-1897), and moved into the Israel Aldrich house. A few feet westerly of the house was a shoemaker's shop containing half a dozen benches1, where Charles Arnold employed his neighbors in the late fifties and early sixties. Later owners or tenants were Alonzo P. Taft, who operated a sawmill, Lovell Parker, Dexter Walling and George Walling. The house burned between 1892 and 1898, and the barn fell down sometime in the nineties.

Daniel Buxton, according to his son, William, was a spectator at the "Battle of Acote's Hill" in Chepachet in 1842. Mr. Sylvester Angell recalls hearing the commotion due to the flight of Dorr's troops over Wallum Pond Hill and across the Massachusetts line during the night after the affair. Thomas O'Neil quotes Joseph Bowdish as saying that some of Dorr's men spent the night in Bowdish's barn, located easterly of the school-house.

¹ Fred Arnold to writer.

The Vickers Place.

The cellar of this house is close to the road and has large lilac bushes near it. In the old days, the Providence to Southbridge stage turned into this place, went westward down by the north end of the pond, across the brook and swamp on a long bridgeway, and continued westerly over the hill to the Coffee House four corners. This road is still passable for a horse and wagon as far as the pond.

The Vickers Place was a part of Andrew Tyler's lot, which was sold for taxes at an auction, May 29, 1782, to Dr. William Jennison (1732-1798), who acquired much property in Douglas. Two years later Dr. Jennison bought 240 acres more of the Andrew Tyler lot from the latter's granddaughter, Miriam Tyler Powell of New Haven, Conn. Between 1782 and 1795, the property passed through the hands of Peter Tyler, Joseph Chase and Abel and John Robbins. It is likely that the stage road to the pond was built during the latter's ownership, as it is mentioned for the first time when he sold to Daniel Aldrich in 1795. The farm had probably been cleared and buildings erected by that time. Seth Aldrich, who bought of his father, Daniel, lived here from 1799, until he sold to Dr. Levi Eddy (1776-1844) in 1810. Dr. Eddy rented the property to David Buxton. a brother of Otis Buxton, and to Benjamin Green, who had married a Buxton and who lived here many years. After Dr. Eddy's death, the property passed successively through the hands of Daniel Buxton, Alpheus Humes and Allen Buxton. In 1858, Ruth Buxton Burbank and Rhoda Buxton Ide bought the place for their father and mother, Otis and Salome Buxton, specifying that it should be free from the interference of their husbands, a clause evidently inserted to make sure that the old couple could remain as long as they pleased. In 1864, Abigail Vickers, a woman of Indian blood, who had married Erastus Vickers. mixed Indian and negro, bought the place and lived there until Dutee Salisbury bought to erect the summer camp at the north end of the pond in 1891. The house burned, about 1892.

The Israel Aldrich Farm.

The farm is nicely situated on the northern crest of Wallum Pond Hill with fine views of the Pond, the Douglas Woods and Mt. Watchusett. This land was probably a part of William Tyler's share in the 1,900-acre tract which, by his will, was left to his son, Joseph Tyler. Lucy Tyler Whitwells and Frances Tyler sold to Israel Aldrich (1765-1831), March 30, 1787. Benjamin Green heard Mr. Aldrich say¹ that he cleared and planted so much land the first spring after he settled here that it took him 30 days to do his hoeing. Aldrich was a prosperous farmer. His son, Asahel, who afterward lived on the next place to the northward (the Ernest Singleton Place), operated the sawmill by the railroad, about half a mile northwest of Wallum Pond. One of Israel's daughters married Capt. Samuel White and another married a Wallis; and both daughters, with their father and mother, are buried in the family burying ground about 600 feet northwesterly of the home site. Mr. Tallman, who at one time operated the Wallum Pond factory, lived in the Israel Aldrich house for some time, about 1851. Daniel Buxton was living in it when it burned in 1854.

Religious Services.

Wallum Pond never had a church, but services were frequently held in the Douglas school house, which was on the north side of the road leading easterly from the Israel Aldrich place on Wallum Pond Hill and about one quarter of a mile therefrom. Mr. Harvey Wakefield (1808-1889), the Gore minister, occasionally came up to preach in the school-house. Others who sometimes conducted services there were Ezra Stone and Erastus Vickers. Some of the Wallum Pond Hill neighborhood attended Mr. Wakefield's services in East Thompson; others attended church in Tasseltop; and there was a church of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints near the Marcy Place, about two miles east of Wallum Pond Hill.

¹ Wm. Green to writer.

Wallum Pond-Douglas School.

The first school-house¹ on this site was built by Emer Bowen in 1799 at an expense of \$135. The teacher in this school in 1835² was Augusta Batchelder; and in 1841 Joseph Seagraves. Other teachers before 1855³ were Malvina Richardson, Sarah Healey, Clara Holman, Sarah Jefferson, and, in later years, Sarah Walling and Grace Darling. This school was continued until the burning of the building, about 1893.

The Summer Camps.

It is not surprising that such a beautiful sheet of water, with adjoining wooded hills and good fishing, should have proved attractive to summer campers. Dutee Salisbury, of Pascoag, camped in a tent with a frame cook house at the north end of the Pond in 1891 and 1892, and, after the opening of the railroad in 1893 had made the place more accessible, built two camps there. He afterwards rented these camps to Horatio Bellows, to one Hughes and others, who conducted a boarding house, there being about thirty summer boarders living in the camps and tents at the north end, where there is a fair beach for bathing. Mr. Oliver Inman at one time had a tent camp north of the railroad, near the spring. Wm. Inman, of Bridgeton, camped one season in a tent in the pine grove near the Sanatorium site and took his meals at the Salisbury Camp. The next season (1894), he built a camp near Salisbury's and occupied it several seasons. Dr. E. V. Granger of Pascoag, after camping in a tent in the pine grove behind Sylvester Angell's house several summers, built a camp on the east shore on railroad land about 1,000 feet south of the north end. Wm. Dyer, of Providence, bought the two Salisbury camps, about 1908, and summered there with his family for several seasons. While the Sanatorium was being built, its architect, Howard Thornton, of Providence, built a camp on the east shore a little north of the middle of the pond. This camp burned, about 1906, and the

¹ Emerson's History of Douglas, page 91.

 ² Susan Green Angell (1827-) to writer.
 ³ Nancy Buxton Anderson to writer.

camp afterward built by Clarence King and now owned by Mr. J. Ernest Singleton, is located on the same site. In the summer of 1914, Mr. W. E. Gaucher of Harrisville built a camp on the lower west shore almost opposite the Sanatorium ice house.

Minerals.

It has long been a tradition¹ in the Angell family that in early days hunters about Wallum Pond made bullets from lead² obtained from rocks. Smith F. Angell states that his father, George R. Angell, told him that the latter, with Arnold Stone, made bullets from lead cut out of seams in the rocks with a jackknife and that this lead was found near Goat Rock. In the prospectus of the Gold Milling & Refining Co., organized by Sylvester Angell and others, it is claimed that three veins of silicious ore have been located on the northwestern side of Wallum Lake and that four of the assays showed gold valued from \$5.15 to \$24.92 per ton, silver from 31 cents to \$22.04 per ton, and arsenic, amount unstated.

The Ice Companies.

The Wallum Pond Ice Co. was organized by Richard W. Smith, formerly a teacher in the Mowry & Goff School of Providence, who became President of the concern. The corporation bought land of the Knowltons on the west shore of the pond near the north end, May 12, 1894. An ice house having a capacity of about eighteen thousand tons, a boarding house for the men and over 1,000 feet of spur track were constructed and steam engine and hoisting machinery installed. The company did not prosper, and after being mortgaged to Fred L. Sayles and leased to Wm. E. Bowen, the property, following some litigation, was acquired by the Providence Ice Co. in November, 1901. The ice house was filled nearly every year, but rarely emptied, as this ice was usually kept in reserve until the supply nearer Providence was exhausted. On Feb. 14, 1915, while a

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¹ Sylvester Angell from his father, Brown Angell.

² Israel Aldrich told Benjamin Green that the Indians got lead from rocks in the Douglas woods. A similar account is given in Winthrop's Journal, Jameson's Ed., Vol. 1, page 108.

gang of men were preparing to commence ice cutting, the ice house took fire and burned so rapidly that several men barely had time to escape from the building. It was believed that the fire resulted from men smoking in the straw lofts under the roof. The boarding house burned a few hours later. The Crystal Ice Co., of Providence, of which David F. Sherwood was President, on Jan. 23, 1901, bought of Sylvester Angell, three or four acres of land near the outlet of Wallum Pond, with the ostensible purpose of building an ice house and railroad spur track to the property, but this project never materialized and these rights were afterward sold to John F. Kaufman and later, Nov. 18, 1901, to the Providence Ice Co. No attempt to utilize this property was ever made.

Farms West of the Pond.

From the west shore of the pond, the wooded land rises steadily for about a third of a mile to the summit of the Buck Hill ridge, which runs north and south parallel to the pond and about 150 feet above it. The top of the ridge forms a rolling plateau about a mile wide from which the land slopes downward and westward into Connecticut. The ridge extends many miles to the southward, but to the northward it is severed by the valley of Rocky Brook, which crosses it in its westerly course. There have been five farms on this ridge, two in Rhode Island near the Massachusetts line and three in Massachusetts. Considering how hilly and stony the land is hereabouts, and how deeply in the woods the farms are located, one is surprised to see how smooth this land is and how excellent the farm buildings were as evident from the large and well built foundations.

The Worsley Place.

South of the Whitman place is what was formerly called the Hatch lot. This land was laid out in the original right of Daniel Abbott of Providence, who sold to Estes Hatch, of Dorchester, Mass., Sept. 3, 1726¹. A tradition persists that lands in this vicinity belonging to Hatch and one Menzies, who were Tories, were confiscated during the Revolution. The tradition is incorrect as applied to this land, which was sold by Estes Hatch and Nathaniel Hatch, of Boston, to John Aldrich and Daniel Abbott, Nov. 26, 1751¹. In 1809, Joseph Worsley, of Thompson, bought 112 acres of the Hatch lot of William Joy. The Worsley house stood about 50 rods southerly of the Whitman house and had disappeared before 1850. The barn² was then standing and was used by Serrail Jacobs for his sheep, which were pastured on the Worsley place.

The Whitman Farm.

Elijah Whitman bought this place, 62 acres, of Elias Joy, Oct. 28, 1808, cleared the land and, after living for some time in a log house, built a frame house in Rhode Island, 80 rods from the Massachusetts line. In 1812, Burrillville accepted a road leading westward into Thompson. Whitman and Worsley thus had the unusual experience of running farms in Burrillville. Rhode Island, and having no highway communication with the rest of the town unless they previously passed through a section of either Massachusetts or Connecticut. Wood roads which lead southeast to the pond and to the present Sanatorium piggery were used for logging in winter. In 1818, Joseph Munyon sold to Joseph Benson a tract of woodland to the westward of Whitman's. The highest point of this land has been called Benson Mountain and is 794 feet above the sea level, 16 feet higher than Wallum Pond Hill and 219 feet above the pond. After Whitman's death, his wife, Sally, moved to Oxford, and, with his children, Elijah, the 2nd, et al, sold the form to Henry Wheelock, March 7, 1854. The farm was afterward owned by Lemuel, a son of Ebenezer Starr. The unoccupied house burned to the ground in the forest fire, about 1911.

¹ See deed of Estes and Nathaniel Hatch to John Aldrich and Daniel Abbott in the Glocester Records.

² Barton Jacobs to writer.

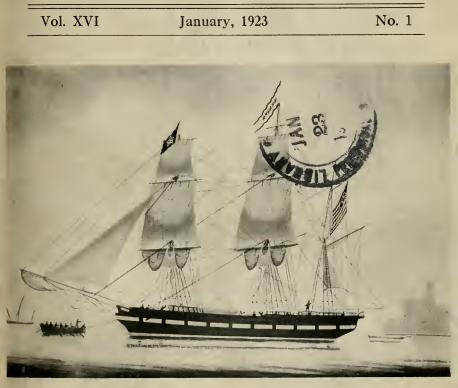
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Mason, Buxton and Starr Farms.

From the Whitman place, a road leads northward, crossing the Rhode Island line to the three Massachusetts farms. It has been a tradition that these farms were the so-called "Boston Men's Farms," and it is true that the eastern parts of these farms were originally granted to the "Boston Men." It appears likely that these lands were cleared and the buildings erected during the ownership of Abraham Mason (1763-1852). Mason was a veteran of the Revolution and subsequently a blacksmith in Thompson. He was a small, wiry man who weighed scarcely 120 pounds but possessed great strength. One of the feats still related by those who remember him¹ was the crossing of an unfinished room with his body suspended in air, by clinging with the thumb and fingers of each hand to the overhead joists. The tract comprising these three farms was bought in one piece by Abraham Mason of Dr. Timothy Jennison, of Cambridge, in 1799. Dr. Jennison's father, Dr. Wm. Jennison, had previously bought the tract of Abijah Estes, who bought of John Reed, of Uxbridge, February 9, 1761. Reed's deed to Estes states that this land was bounded on the east by the "Boston Men's Farms." (To be concluded)

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RHODE ISLAND Historical Society Collections



The bark Beaver of Providence, leaving the port of Marseilles, 1842 From a painting in the possession of Miss Harriet C. Edmonds

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ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

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HOWARD W. PRESTON, President EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer GEORGE T. SPICER, Secretary HOWARD M. CHAPIN, Librarian

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The "Mark" Used as Money of Account in Rhode Island.

The two volumes of early Rhode Island Court Records, recently printed by the Rhode Island Historical Society, throw much light upon early colonial life and customs, as well as upon the legal procedure of the time.

In the case of William Almy vs. Richard Morris in 1649, the damages were placed at 100 marks, showing that at that time the mark was used as a money of account in this colony. The mark at this time in England was used similarly, being considered equal to 160 pennies or 13 s. 6 d. Shakespeare uses the mark in this sense. The usual money of account in New England was pounds, shillings and pence, but currency was very scarce, and Indian wampum peage was often used. The value of wampum fluctuated from time to time and from place to place. In 1655 the Court fixed the rate of exchange as six beads per penny for white wampum and three per penny for "black merchantable." In 1658 the rate was specified as eight per penny, but it had been reduced again to six per penny by 1660. The black peage was usually valued at half the value of the white. An account of wampum peage may be found in Roger Williams' "A Key into the Language of America," Chapter XXIV (R. I. H. S. Coll. 1, p. 128), and also in Rider's "Book Notes," v. 29, p. 33.

Ship Building in Colonial Rhode Island.

In May, 1741, John Banister¹ of Newport wrote: "In respect to the building a sloope, theres no place in America where a single Deck vessel is built with that advantage as in this Government. I can have one built for you of any dementions" In another letter he gave the dimensions of one of his vessels as follows: 61 ft. keel, $23\frac{1}{2}$ ft. beam, 11 ft. hold and 4 ft. between decks.

The National Patriotic Society of the Lion.

The National Patriotic Society of the Lion purports to admit to membership the descendants of those who came over in the ship *Lion* in 1630. The printed circular sent out by this Society from its headquarters in California lists the passengers on this voyage of the *Lion*. In this list appear the names of John Sweet, his wife, Mary, and their three children.

There is no documentary and no contemporary evidence that John Sweet and his family came over on the ship *Lion*. The following letter from Mr. H. B. Phillips, Librarian of the National Patriotic Society of the Lion, gives their reason for including the Sweets' names in the list.

"Dear Sir:---

Replying to yours of 20th inst. in re—"LION" matters. I think the committee who made up the printed list of "Lyon" passengers used their judgment as to the preponderance of circumstantial evidence, with a mental reservation that publicity would likely bring out further evidence for or against any name mentioned.

¹Banister's Letter Book, at Newport Historical Society.

In the matter of Mary (widow of John Sweet), the letter of Hue Peter was used (see Mass. Archives, Vol. 240, p. 33).

The inference being that all those mentioned were of the Lion passengers of this trip, as all appeared bound by special ties of familiarity, and all equally entitled to the censure of the Church. This does prove one thing, that the "George Thormorton" was really John Throckmorton.

Only 250 of these circulars have been printed, and we hope that eligible persons will furnish further evidence in order to make corrections, if any, in a further printing.

Very truly yours

Henry B. Phillips"

The letter of Hue (Hugh) Peter referred to above, is dated 1.5.39 (1639). It is printed in Knowles' Memoir of Roger Williams, p. 176.

Notes

Mrs. George T. Hart presented the Society with a manuscript genealogy of the Greene family.

A piece of Rhode Island Revolutionary paper money is the gift of Miss Lois Anna Greene.

Mr. Theodore Francis Green has presented a copy of his address, entitled, "A Legal Practitioner's Mental Equipment."

Mr. Eben Putnam has given the Society the results of his extensive researches in regard to the life and activities of Israel Angell, one of Rhode Island's Revolutionary heroes. This data had been mounted in an album, where it is easily available for study.

The flags and records of the First Regiment and First Battery Rhode Island Detached Militia Veteran Association have been placed in our custody permanently, and the same disposition has been voted by the Second Regiment Veteran Association for their records. It is hoped that eventually all of the records of the Civil War organizations will be placed with us, where by being together they will become of greater use for research work. The banner of Unity Temple of Honor, No. 9, Providence, R. I., has been presented to the Society.

One of the commemorative medals issued by the Redwood Library has been given to the Society by Dr. Roderick Terry of Newport.

Mr. George E. Phillips has presented to the Society the records of the Pioneer Fire Co.

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

Miss Anna L. Andrews

Mr. H. Nelson Street

In the October number of our "Collections" reference was made to our exhibition of state bank bills. Since then additional bills have been loaned by Miss Annie G. Westcote, Mr. Arthur G. Billings, the High Street Bank, and the Phenix National Bank.

In examining our file of Book Notes, it was found that the issue of January 4, 1913 was missing. A copy of this issue has now been supplied through the generosity of Mr. A. E. Eddy.

We have made a special effort to complete our files of the publications issued by the various towns and cities of Rhode Island and have added over 300 pamphlets of this class to our library. Our sets of tax books of the towns and cities of Rhode Island are complete since 1900 except for the following issues: East Greenwich 1908 and Exeter 1907. It will be seen that we now lack only two of the 850 tax books issued during this period. If anyone can supply us with either of these missing numbers, please notify the librarian. We also lack several of these tax books issued before 1900.

We have received requests for the following issues of our "Collections": Vol. XI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 3; Vol. XIII, No. 2, and Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 and 2. As our supply of these numbers is now exhausted, we can only fill these requests through the generosity of some of our members.

Lawrence C. Wroth's "A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland" contains a chapter on William Goddard, with considerable biographical material not hitherto in print, in regard to Goddard. A review of this book appeared in the *Providence* Sunday Journal, September 10, 1922.

"The Pettaquamscutt Region," by M. E. Briggs, Allenton, R. I., August 1, 1922 is an attractive historical and descriptive booklet.

The Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society for October, 1922, contains a paper by Anna Wharton Wood on the Robinson Family and their Correspondence with the Vicomte and Vicomtesse de Noailles.

The October number of the N. E. H. & G. *Register* contains an account of the ancestry of Anne Butter, mother of John Coggeshall of Newport.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Rhode Island on August 20, 1922, unveiled a tablet to mark the site of Butts Hill Fort at Portsmouth, R. I.

Rev. George Whitefield's Account of His Visit to Rhode Island in 1740¹.

Newport in Rhode-Island.

Sunday, Sept. 14. Was sick Part of the Passage, but found afterwards the Sea-Air, under God, much improv'd my Health, arrived at Newport in Rhode Island, just after the Beginning of Evening Service; we came purposely thither first with our Sloop: I think it the most pleasant Entrance I ever yet saw, almost all the Morning the Wind was contrary; but I found a very strong Inclination to pray, that we might arrive time enough to be present at publick Worship. Once I called the People, but something prevented their coming, at last finding my Impression increase upon me, I desired their Attendance immediately: They came with a strong Assurance we should be heard. We pray'd the Lord, that he might turn the Wind that we might give him Thanks in the great Congregation, and also that he would send such to us as he would have us to converse with, and who might shew us a Lodging.—Tho' the Wind was

¹ Published in 1741.

a Head, when we begun, yet when we had done praying and came up out of the Cabbin it was quite fair; with a gentle Gale we sailed most pleasantly into the Harbour, got into publick Worship before they had finished the Psalms, and sat as I thought undiscovered.-After Service was over, a Gentleman asked me whither my Name was not Whitefield, I told him yes; he then desired me to go to his House, and he would take Care to provide Lodgings and Necessaries for me, and my Friends. I went, silently admiring God's Goodness in answering my Prayers, so minutely. Several Gentlemen of the Town soon came to pay their Respects to me, among whom, was one Mr. Clap, an aged dissenting Minister, but the most venerable Man I ever saw in my Life, he looked like a good old Puritan, and gave me an Idea of what Stamp those Men were who first settled New-England. His Countenance was very heavenly.-he rejoiced much in Spirit at the Sight of me, and prayed most affectionately for a Blessing on my coming to Rhode-Island. In the Evening with him, and some more Friends, I waited on Mr. Honeyman, the Minister of the Church of England, and desired the Use of his Pulpit, at first he seemed a little unwilling, being desirous to know what extraordinary Call I had to preach on Week-Days, which he said was disorderly; I answered, St. Paul exhorted Timothy to be instant in Season, and out of Season; that if the Orders of the Church were rightly complied with, our Ministers should read publick Prayers twice every Day, and then it would not be disorderly, at such Times, to give the People a Sermon: As to an extraordinary Call, I told him I claimed none but that Injunction of the Apostle; As we have Opportunity, let us do Good unto all Men. He still held out, and did not give any positive Answer, but at last, after he had withdrawn, and consulted with the Gentlemen, he said if my preaching would promote the Glory of God, and the good of Souls, I was welcome to his Church as often as I would, during my Stay in Town; we then agreed to make use of it, at Ten in the Morning, and Three in the Afternoon. After this I went and waited on the Governour², who seemed to be a very plain Man, and had

² Richard Ward.

a very plain House, which much pleased me: By Profession, I think he is a seventh Day Baptist; he is a Man of good Report as to his Conduct and dealing with the World. After a short Visit, I returned to take my Leave of Mr. Honeyman, and to fetch my friends who were at his House, waiting for me. We then went to the House of Mr. Bowers, who first spake to me, when coming out of Church; the House was soon filled with Company: .I expounded and prayed with them for about an Hour, and then retired to a Lodging, the Lord in his good Providence had provided for me; the blessed Jesus was pleased sweetly to manifest himself to my Soul: A Consideration of his distinguishing repeated Mercies quite melted me down, and I called upon all that was within me to praise his holy Name. O Lord, in the Night Season, let me arise and give Thanks unto thee, and let my Talking be of thy Loving-kindness and tender Mercies all the Day long.

Monday, Sept. 15. Breakfasted this Morning with old Mr. Clap, and was much edified by his Conversation : I could not but think, whilst at his Table, that I was sitting with one of the patriarchs. He is full of Days, a Batchelor, and has been a Minister of a Congregation in Rhode-Island upwards of Forty Years. People of all Denominations I find respect him, he abounds in good Works, gives all away, and is wonderfully tender of little Children, Many of them of different Persuasions come to be instructed by him. Whenever he dies, I am persuaded with good old Simeon, he will be enabled to say, Lord, now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace. At ten in the Morning, and three in the Afternoon, according to Appointment, I read Prayers, and preach'd in the Church: Tis very commodious, and I believe will contain 3000 People; it was more then filled in the Afternoon; Persons of all Denominations attended; God assisted me much; I observed Numbers affected. and had great Reason to believe the Word of the Lord had been sharper then a two-edged Sword in some of the Hearers Souls: After Evening-Service, I received the following Letter,

Newport, Rhode-Island, Sept. 15, 1740.

Reverend Sir and beloved Brother,

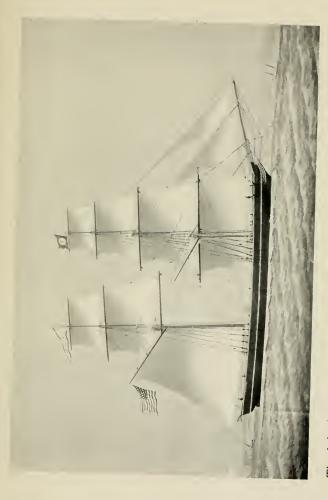
"Altho' mine Eyes never saw your Face before this Day, yet "my Heart and Soul have been united to you in Love by the "Bond of the Spirit. I have longed, and expected to see you for "many Months past: Blessed be God, mine Eyes have seen the "joyful Day. I trust thro' Grace, I have some Things to com-"municate to you, that will make your Heart glad: I shall omit "writing any thing, and only hereby present my hearty Love, "and let you know that I am waiting now at the Post of your "Door for Admission; tho' I am unworthy, my Lord is Worthy, "in whose Name I trust I come.

"I am your unworthy Brother,

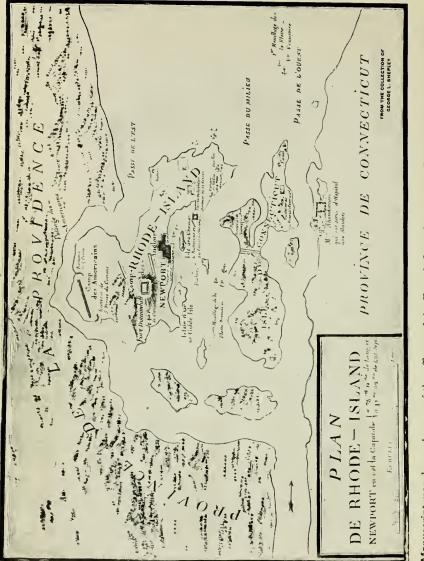
Jonathan Barber.

On Reading it, I could not but think, this was one of those young Ministers whom God had lately made use of in such a remarkable Manner at the East-End of Long-Island. I sent for him, and found he was the Man. My Heart rejoiced. We walked out, and took sweet Counsel together, and amongst other Things, he told me that he came to Rhode-Island under a full Conviction, that he should see me there, and had been waiting for me eight Days; for he said these Words were mightily impressed upon his Heart, Is not Aaron the Levite thy Brother? I know that he can speak well; and also behold he cometh forth to meet thee, and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his Heart; and I will be with thy Mouth, and with his Mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do." What render'd this more remarkable was, I had no intention of sailing into Rhode-Island 'till about three Days before I left Carolina; and also; I had a great Desire to put in, if I could, at the East-End of Long-Island, to see this very Person, whom the great God now brought unto me. Lord accept our Thanks, sanctify our Meeting, and teach us both what we shall do for thy own Name Sake.

After a long Conference, we took leave of each other for the Present, but agreed that we should now be Companions in Travel, 'till the Lord shou'd make our Way more plain. In the Evening I went to venerable Mr. Clap's and exhorted, and



The brig Arkansas of Providence, commanded by John Edmonds from 1837 to 1838. From a painting in the possession of Miss Harriet C. Edmonds. Capt. John Edmonds was part owner of this vessel, and captain and sole owner of the Beaver, the ship shown on the cover of this number of the Collections



Manuscript map drawn by one of the officers of the French fleet about 1778. From the original in the Shepley Library. There are in the Library of Congress several manuscript maps made by the French during the American Revolution. Photostats of these maps are on file in the Society's Library prayed with a great Multitude who not only crowded into the House but thronged every Way about it; the dear old Man rejoiced to see those Things which he saw; and after my Exhortation was over, dismissed me with his Blessing. Lord Jesus, do thou say Amen to it, even so Lord Jesus. Amen and Amen.

Tuesday, Sept. 16. Perceived my self a little low in the Morning, but was enabled to read Prayers, and preach with much Flame, Clearness and Power, to still greater Auditories than Yesterday; it being Assembly Time, the Gentlemen adjourned, in order to attend the Service; and several Invitations were given me to come to other adjacent Places. The People were exceedingly attentive, Tears trickled down their Cheeks, and so far prevailed with me by their Importunity, that by the divine Permission, I promised to call on them in my Return from Boston. When I came home to my Lodgings, the Woman of the House saluted me with Blessed art thou of the Lord. I looked round to see the Reason of such a Salutation, and on the Couch there lay a young Woman; after a little Conversation, I found she had had a gracious Discovery of the Lord Jesus made to her Soul when I was speaking these Words, Come see a Man that told me all Things that ever I did. She said, she had often grieved the Spirit of God, but now she believed the Lord was calling her home effectually. The Word, added she, came with such Power, that I was obliged to go out of the Church, otherwise I must have disturbed the Congregation. When I came from Home contrary to my Mother's Inclinations, I insisted I knew not why, on staying at Newport six Weeks, She would have me stay only a Month, but at last consented for me to stay my own Time. To-morrow, says she, is the last Day of the six Weeks. and Oh the Goodness of God in sending you just now, before my Time was out; or Words to that Effect. Afterwards one or two more came under deep Convictions, crying out, in the Bitterness of their Souls, after the Lord Jesus .--- I prayed with each of them, and exhorted 'em not to rest till they found rest in Jesus Christ: In the Evening I went, as I thought privately to a Friends House, but the People were so eager after the Word that in a short Time I believe more than 1000 were before the

Door besides those that were within, and filled every Room in the House, I therefore stood upon the Threshold and spoke for near an Hour on these Words, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after Righteousness for they shall be filled. Blessed be God it was a very solemn Meeting. Being Night, I could not see how the Hearers were affected, but the Lord assisted me in speaking. Glory be to his great Name. Before I retired to Bed, I went, and took my Leave of Mr. Honeyman, & had some close Talk with him about the New-Birth. The Lord give him an experimental Knowledge of it; he was very Civil, and would have had me staid with him longer, but being to go on a Journey, on the Morrow, after we had conversed about half an Hour. I took my Leave. At my Return to my Lodgings, good old Mr. Clap went with me into a Room, and gave me something for my Orphans, and spoke many affectionate Things to me. Altho' very old yet he followed me from one End of the Town to the other, so that People said I had made Mr. Clap young again. Oh what a Crown of Glory is the hoary Head when found in the Way of Righteousness. He was exceeding desirous of my coming to Rhode-Island again, which I promised to do by the divine Permission. For Rhode-Island seems to be a Place where much Good may be done. They are a very plain People for the Generality; tho' I am observed there were some foolish Virgins at Church, covered over with the Pride of Life; I find they are sadly divided amongst themselves, as to outward Things. I think there are no less than four different Congregations of Baptists; two of the Independants, and one of the Ouakers Persuasion. Dean Berkly's Name is had in much Respect. Amongst them, the established Church is in good Order as to Externals: But many of the Head Members, I found soon were exceeding great Bigots; they seemed very fearful least I should preach in Mr. Clap's Meeting-House, and gloried much in my bringing the good old Man to Church: Nor is there less Bigotry, as far as I could find among those of other Communions, all I fear Place the Kingdom of God too much in Meats and Drinks, and have an ill Name abroad for running of Goods. One Day when I said in my Sermon, "What will become of you, who cheat the

King of his Taxes"? The whole Congregation seemed surprized, and look'd on one another as tho' they should say we are guilty. Lord Jesus give them to know thee, and the Power of thy Resurrection, and teach them to render to Caesar the Things that are Caesar's, and to God the Things that are God's.

Newport and Bristol.

Wednesday, Sept. 17. Left Newport in Rhode-Island about 9 in the Morning, and reach'd Bristol, a Town twelve Miles off about Noon; several Friends from Rhode-Island accompanied me, and before we came to the Town, a dissenting Minister, as I found afterwards,-met me, and in the Name of the Court which was then sitting at Bristol, invited me and my Friends to dine with them, and also to give them a Sermon. I complied. The Gentlemen received us with much Civility, and after Dinner, I preached in the Meeting-House to more People, than might be expected on such sudden Notice. My Heart was much shut up in the Exercise; I felt and saw but little Power, however the Gentlemen seem'd very thankful. I took my Leave about 4 in the Afternoon, and lay at an Inn about ten Miles farther on the Road. Here the Lord gave me a Spirit of Prayer, I wrestled with God in Behalf of my Self and Friends, supp'd comfortably, sung a Hymn and went to Rest .-- Thanks be to God for his unspeakable Mercies.

Thursday, Sept. 18. Rose a great while before Day, and set out as soon as it was Light, breakfasted at a Minister's House on the Road, found the People were apprised of my coming, and were solicitous for my Preaching. But being resolved under God if possible to reach Boston that Night, we travel'd on for near fifty Miles, and came to Boston about 8 in the Evening.

The following item in regard to Whitefield's visit appeared in the *Boston News-Letter* for September 4-11, 1740: "We hear that the Revd Mr Whitefield arrived at Rhode Island on Monday last, and that he intended to set out for this Place on Wednesday Morning, so that he may be expected in Town this Evening, or to-morrow." The Rev. Mr. Whitefield returned to Rhode Island in 1745. In the *Boston Gazette* for May 14, 1745, we find the following item:

"We hear the Rev. Mr. Whitefield is got to Rhode-Island, and had began to preach there, having been at Providence and other Places; but we have not vet been able to come at Particulars, we must refer to our next." On the 21st a longer item appeared, as follows: "Yesterday was Fortnight the Rev. Mr. Whitefield left Providence after having preached three Times on the Lord's-Day to large Congregations & four Times before; on Monday afternoon he preached twice at the Gore, on Tuesday once at Attleborough; on Wednesday he reached Rh. Island, where he was receiv'd most cordially by the Rev. Mr. Clap and the Rev. Mr. Hillier, and preach'd four Times on the Week Days, and thrice on Lord's-Day to large Auditories; on Monday he preach'd twice for the Rev. Mr. Billings of Little Compton, and on Tuesday twice at the New Meeting House at Tiverton; on Wednesday he preach'd again at Little Compton, & on Thursday after having preach'd at a Farmer's House in the Way, he came to Newport on Rh. Island, and preach'd in the Evening to a large Auditory, and intended to continue there till after Lord's Day and then return by Way of Freetown this week towards Boston."

Variations in Samuel Gorton's "Simplicities Defence."

Samuel Gorton's "Simplicities Defence against Seven Headed Policy, or Innocency Vindicated. . .," was printed in London in 1646 by John Macock, "to be sold by Luke Fawne, at his shop in Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Parrot."

A study of bibliographic minutiæ has brought to light the fact that there are at least four variants of the first (1646) edition of this book, in addition to the second edition of 1647. These four variants can easily be identified by the spelling of the words "discourage" and "satisfaction", on the first line of page 90 and the last line of page 42, respectively. The spellings *di* and *ction* appear in copies in the Rhode Island Historical Society and Boston Public Library (Prince copy).

The spellings *dsi* and *ctioin* appear in copies in the John Carter Brown Library and the Harvard College Library.

The spellings *dis* and *ctioin* appear in copies in the British Museum, New York Public Library, Brown University Library (Brinley copy), Harvard College Library, and Newberry Library (Lefferts-Ayer copy).

The spellings *dis* and *ction* appear in copies in the John Carter Brown Library, Boston Public Library (Barlow copy), and Henry E. Huntington Library (Church copy).

In the edition of 1647 the correct spellings, *dis* and *ction* occur, and the title is changed to "Simplicities Defence against Seven Headed Policy, or a True Complaint of a Peaceable People," This edition was printed from the same type by Macock "to be sold by George Whittington, at the Blue Anchor near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill." There is a copy of this edition in the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Earliest Plat of Block Island.

The original manuscript plat¹ of the early divisions of New Shoreham is now preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library. The accompanying plat is a reproduction of the original, except for the key letters, which are too small to appear distinctly on a reproduction of this size. These key letters have been replaced by numbers, which appear in the first column of the following list. The key letters and names on the original plat appear in the second column, and in the third column the names and lot numbers that are given in an ancient explanatory list of land divisions contributed by George Andrews Moriarty, Jr. The items in brackets are supplied by the editor.

¹Rhode Island Historical Society Collections XIV, 97.

14	RHODE	E ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY			
1	E no 5	[Eells]			
2	G no 5	[Glover]			
2 3	V no 5	[Vose]			
4	W no 5	[Note 2]			
5	W no 5	[Note 2]			
6	A no 5	[Note 3]			
7	R no 5	[Ray]			
8	Thomas fax	on			
9	mr allcoke h	is first			
10	mr bellingan	n			
11	the minestor	S			
12	goodman vo	rs			
13	Simon ray				
14	Simon ray				
15	mr allcoke h	is second			
16	Thomas fax	on			
17	Thomas Te	rry			
18	Thomas Tery				
19	mr allcock his third hous lot				
20	william allis				
21	mr whorten				
22	samuell dering				
23	mr glover				
24	Fn 5	Faxon			
		Meadow lots on Corn-neck.			
25	Gn4	11 J. Glover ⁴			
26	A no 4	13 J. Alcock ⁴			
27	M no 4	14 ministers⁴			
28	A no 4	15 Winslow and Rose ^₄			
29	A no 4	16 James Sands ⁴			
30	E no 4	12 R. Eells⁴			
31		9 & 10 T. Faxon			
32	T no 4	7 & 8 T. Terry			

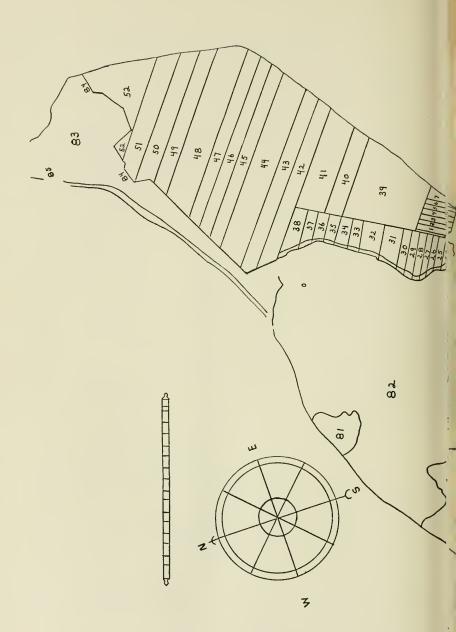
²W stands both for Wharton and for Williams.

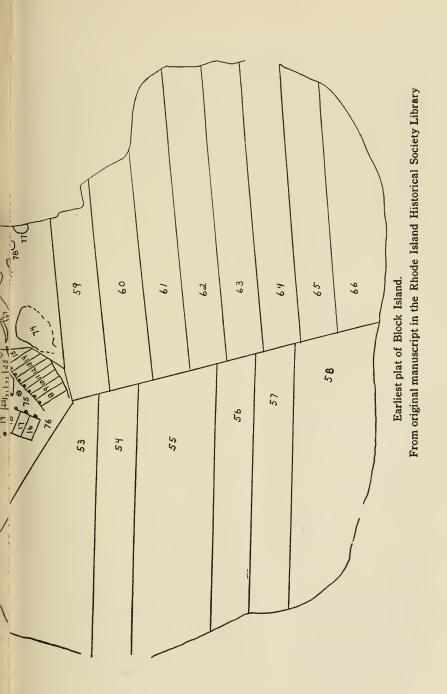
³A stands for Alcock, for Winslow and Rose, and for Sands.

⁴The lot numbers on the map differ from the lot numbers given in the list. The letters on the map have been followed.

33	B no 4	6 R. Bilingam
34	d no 4	5 S. Deering
35	w no 4	4 H. Williams
36	V no 4	3 Ed. Vorse
37	W no 4	2 Phillip Warton
38	R no 4	1 Simon Ray
		On the North-east side beginning from
		"Cow Cove"
39	no 2	∫17 Simon Ray
		16 Peter George
40	M no 2	15 Minister's lot
41	A no 2	14 John Alcock
42	W no 2	13 Hugh Williams
43	A no 2	12 James Sands
44	T no 2	10 & 11 Thomas Terry
45	W no 2	8 Phillip Warton ⁴
46	G no 2	9 John Glover ⁴
47	E no 2	7 Richard Eells
48	F no 2	5 & 6 Thomas Faxon
49	V no 2	4 Edward Vorse and John Rathbun
50	A no 2	3 Nath. Winslow and Tormut Rose
51	d no 2	2 Samuel Deering
52	B no 2	1 Richard Bilingam
		The small lots on the bay ⁵
		The West division beginning at Charleston
		and comprehending the West and South part
		of the Island
53	F no 3	1 & 2 Thomas Faxon
54	A no 3	3 Nath. Winslow and Tort. Rose
55	T no 3	4 & 5 Thomas Terry
56	W no 3	6 Phillip Warton
57	А по З	7 John Alcock
58	R no 3	8 & 9 Peter George and Sim Ray
59	comonland	17 common
60	d no 3	16 Samuel Deering

⁵These are perhaps the lots numbered 8 to 23 in the first column.





18	RHODE	ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
61	A no 3	15 James Sands
62	G no 3	14 John Glover
63	W no 3	13 Hugh Williams
64	E no 3	12 Richard Eells
65	B no 3	11 Richard Bilingam
66	V no 3	10 John Rathbun and Ed. Vorse
67	B no 5	[Bilingam]
68	A no 5	[Note 3]
69	A no 5	[Note 3]
70	E no 5	[Eells]
71	D no 5	[Deering]
72	T no 5	[Terry]
73	fort	
74	pastur necke	
75	meetinge hou	15
76	comon land	
77	doges hous	[Dodge's house]
78	T no 5	[Terry]
79	T no 5	[Terry]
80	salt pond	
81	comon land	
82	The great Sa	alt pond
83	salt pond	
84	medow	
85	beach	
86	mr williams	

AND HICTODICAT

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Rhode Island in 1784

(Contributed by Paul C. Nicholson.) Of the Colony of Rhode Island; its Situation, Soil, Produce, Government, and Trade.

This colony contains only Rhode Island and Providence, which were united by charter about the same time as the colony of Connecticut, and like that the inhabitants retain the rights and privileges at first granted them in their separate state, having also two seats of government, at Newport and Providence, where their general court is alternately held. This colony has but a small territory, it lying somewhat in the form of a heart, and is bounded on the north and east by Massachuset's Bay, to the southward by the ocean, and to the westward by Connecticut.

The climate of Rhode Island is much more favourable than that of Boston, though it only lies about sixty-five miles to the south of that city: it being much warmer in the winter, and being surrounded by the sea, is less affected in the summer with hot land breezes, than the places on the adjoining continent.

The soil is generally low, rocky, and stony; yet, when properly improved, produces Indian corn, rye, oats, peas, hemp, flax, and some wheat; with most kinds of fruit, common to the climate, in great perfection, especially on Rhode Island, which for its beauty and fertility is much admired, it being exceeded perhaps by no spot in New England. They raise cattle, sheep, and horses in abundance, and the latter are esteemed the best on the continent. They likewise make considerable quantities of butter and cheese.

The form of government is in every respect the same as in the colony of Connecticut, and the number of the inhabitants are computed to amount to seventy thousand.

Liberty of conscience is here granted in the fullest extent, but the greatest number of people here are Quakers. Here is so little bigottry, that every man is left to think and act for himself; and, while he observes a good moral conduct, nobody gives himself any trouble about his religious principles, for which he is only accountable to God. There are here also a pretty many Jews. The education of children is, however, said to be not much attended to, there being not one free-school in the whole colony.

The principal towns are Newport, which is pleasantly seated on Rhode Island, and has a safe and good harbour for ships of a moderate burthen, with its entrance defended by a fort, on which are planted three hundred guns; and Providence, which is also delightfully seated on a river of the same name, and is a thriving town, with a considerable trade.

The chief commodities exported from hence are horses, sheep, cheese, and the produce they procure from the neighbouring

provinces, as lumber and fish from the Massachuset's and New Hampshire; beef, pork, and flour from Connecticut, New York, and Philadelphia, which they commonly pay for in rum, sugar, and molasses imported from the West Indies.

This colony hath suffered greatly in the present contest with Great Britain; it was early subdued by a detachment from general Howe's army, whilst the American forces have made frequent descents. In 1778, the count d' Estaing attacked the island by sea, whilst an army, commanded by general Sullivan, made an assault by land; but both these assailants were obliged to desist. Towards the close of the year 1779, it was found necessary for the king's troops to evacuate it. (From Fenning and Collyer's "A New System of Geography; London, 1784.)

Capt. John Edmonds.

Capt. John Edmonds, son of Daniel Edmonds, was born in Edgecomb, Maine, in 1807. He went to sea at an early age, and later served as Captain of vessels in the West Indian and trans-Atlantic trade. His home was on Beacon Avenue in Providence. He was Captain and part owner of several vessels sailing from Providence. Pictures of four of these vessels are extant; those of the *Beaver* and the *Arkansas* are reproduced in this issue of the *Collections*, and those of the *Narragansett* and the *Orphan* will appear in subsequent issues. Capt. Edmonds died in Providence on March 31, 1890.

The Wallum Pond Estates.

By HARRY LEE BARNES. (Concluded from October number.) The Mason, Buxton and Starr Farms.

Mason¹ also bought of Sweetland Taft a share in the lower sawmill on Rocky Brook, probably to get out lumber for his buildings. The southern part of his farm next to the Rhode Island line, comprising 100 acres with a dwelling, was sold to his son, Levi Mason, November 18, 1811, and the latter sold to Daniel Barrett in 1818. Barrett's son, Daniel Barrett, Jr., bought it in 1833 and, in 1837, sold to Ebenezer Starr (1817-1874). Besides other stock, Starr kept a large drove of pigs which were allowed free range in the woods during the day and were called in at night. Brown Angell, who lived over a mile away across the pond on the present Singleton farm, used to tell of hearing Mr. Starr calling in his drove of pigs². This farm was later operated for a time by Lemuel Starr, a clock repairer and son of Ebenezer, but was finally abandoned, and the house rotted down about 20 years ago. To the westward of the Starr place, in a log house, there dwelt sometimes an itinerant preacher named Wyman Isaiah Gideon Thayer³. Following the road to the northward, the next farm is one which Mason sold with the dwelling house to John Martin in 1820. Otis Buxton bought it of Martin in 1835. Buxton's sons-in-law, Thomas Howland and Wellington Daw, and Otis's son, Allen Buxton, occupied the place for some years until the house burned down. Mason sold meats, groceries and supplies to the neighborhood. He operated a blacksmith shop which was located on the north side of the road at the turn just west of his house. He sold the remainder of his farm to his son-in-law, Daniel Wakefield (1805-1885) in 1832, but continued to live there until his death. Richard Rawson afterward owned the place, the house burning down during his ownership. From the Mason place, a road formerly swung to the right, passed the north end of the pond

¹ For extracts from Mason's Journal see Appendix, p. 7.

² Sylvester Angell to writer.

³ Barton Jacobs to writer.

and came out on Wallum Pond Hill at the Vickers place. Over this road, the school children from the west side of the Pond came to the Douglas school on Wallum Pond Hill. Mrs. Ira Wakefield, a daughter of Daniel Wakefield, remembers when this road was so icy that she had to creep on her hands and knees up the hill to school.

About half a mile northwesterly of the northern end of Wallum Pond, the railroad passes through a small pond on Rocky Brook and by the ruins of a sawmill operated by Asahel Aldrich about 1860.

The Coffee House.

At the Mason place, the road bears to the left down the hill, crosses the railroad track, Rocky Brook, and the Douglas-East Thompson highway, which are all near together about one and one-quarter miles west of the north end of the pond, and continues in a northwesterly direction to "The Gore." On the northwest bank of the brook by this highway, there stood, in the old days, a tavern called the Coffee House. The Douglas-East Thompson highway was a stage road between Boston and Hartford, and the Coffee House accommodated travelers over this route.

The lot of land on which the Coffee House stood was sold by Abijah Estes, an extensive land owner northwest of the pond, to James Bott, a saddler of Salem. Mass., April 29, 1778. The following November, Bott sold to Abraham Guild, and 18 days later Guild sold to four Providence merchants, Joseph Olney, William Wall, Samuel Dunn, Jr., and Joseph Cooke. While the deeds are silent as to buildings, it seems likely that the Coffee House was operated under their ownership. Sweetland Taft owned an interest in this tavern from 1797 to 1814, when he sold to John Tilley, originally a sea-faring man from Boston, who was probably the last proprietor. Although still standing in 1819, when Tilley mortgaged it to Calvin Sanger, it is unlikely that it was operated as a tavern after 1823, when the property was bought for a wood lot from Tilley's widow by Samuel Slater (1768-1835), the Pawtucket and Webster mill owner who first introduced cotton manufacturing into America. The Coffee House probably rotted down¹ and disappeared before 1835², although the line of sheds where the stage horses were stabled were standing as late as 1848³.

There is a tradition that a man was once murdered in the old Coffee House^{4 5}. The story of an attempted murder which the author has been unable to verify is here related as given to Monroe Ide by the grandson of the intended victim. His grandfather, Vinton, a cattle drover of prosperous appearance whose business had called him to that vicinity, stopped for the night at the Coffee House. The landlord engaged Vinton in conversation and said that if he would wait until the other guests had retired he would show him his wine cellar. After the other guests had gone to bed, he took Vinton to the back of the house, opened a door and said "there is my wine cellar." Before reaching this door, they passed an apparently demented old lady who mumbled "two went out and one came back" and aroused Vinton's suspicions, and, as this door opened, he glanced sideways and saw his host raising an axe to strike him. Being an unusually powerful man, he disarmed his assailant and had him arrested. The investigation which followed resulted in the conviction and hanging of this man for a murder previously committed.

Land easterly of the Coffee House lot and between it and the northern end of Wallum Pond was the southern part of a tract laid out to Simon Chamberlain pursuant to an order of the General Court⁶ of June 27, 1743. Chamberlain, whose name clings to a pond of about four acres at the northern source of Rocky Brook, about two and one-quarter miles northwesterly of Wallum Pond, was settled on his land when he received his deed. Descendants7 of Simon Chamberlain by an Indian woman are still living in Webster.

⁷ Personal communication from Ruth Slater.

¹ Statement to the writer by Nina Starr, who was so informed by several old people in this vicinity.

² Statement to the writer by Susan Angell (1827-).

³ Statement to the writer by Monroe Ide, who remembers them. ⁴ Statement to the writer by Nina Starr, received from her father,

Lemuel Starr.

⁵ Statement to the writer by Monroe Ide, received from his grandmother, Salome Buxton. ⁶ Chapter 134.

The Brass Ball.

About three-quarters of a mile southwest of the Coffee House, in Connecticut and close to the State line, was an old tavern, The Brass Ball, so called from a bronzed wooden ball, about the size of a bushel basket, which was used as a sign. As the traveler crossed the State line, he passed through the Toll Gate, near a large rock, still seen by the road side, where he was required to pay the following rates :

Rate of Toll¹.

~ .

	Cents
Every travelling 4-wheeled pleasure carriage and horses	. 25
Chaise, chair or sulky	121/2
Loaded wagon or cart drawn by four beasts	121/2
Each additional beast	. 3
Loaded wagon drawn by 2 beasts	121/2
Each additional beast	
Empty wagon or cart	61/4
Four-wheeled pleasure carriage drawn by one horse	8
Single horse cart loaded	61/4
Single horse cart empty	. 4
Pleasure sleigh	
Loaded sleigh or sled	
Empty sleigh or sled	
Man and horse	
Horses, cattle and mules, each	2
Sheep and swine, each	

The Toll Gate was still in use in the early forties but was disused after 1853². Daniel Barrett bought the Brass Ball of the Sprague heirs and operated it as a hotel until about 1849, when he leased the property to Jason Young for hotel purposes. Barrett returned to the Brass Ball in 1853 and died in 1866, when the land was bought for the lumber on it by the Stockwell brothers. About 1857, William Church, intoxicated by liquor

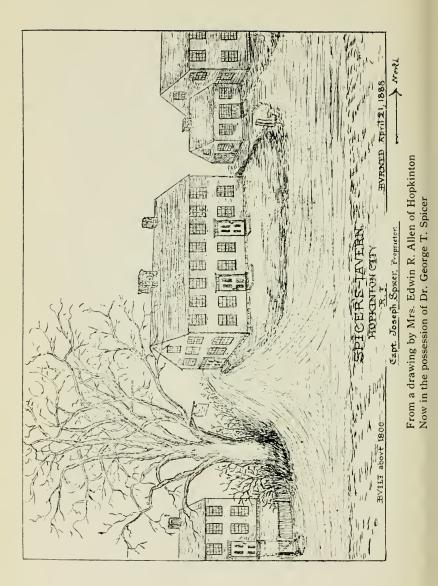
¹ The above rates were copied from the original board sign, now in possession of Anna Hoyle.

² Toll was sometimes collected not at the Brass Ball but farther westward in East Thompson village.



Sign that formerly hung on the sycamore tree in front of the Spicer Tavern, Hopkinton City, R. I.

Now in the possession of Dr. George T. Spicer and exhibited at the Society's recent exhibition of signboards.



obtained at the Brass Ball, wandered from the highway at night into the Douglass Woods and was frozen to death. The Brass Ball received much of the business formerly given the Coffee House, but, with the coming of the railroad and the passing of the stage coach, it was used less as a tavern and more as a saloon until operation as a public house ceased, not far from 1860. After being vacant for a time, it was used by Italian railroad laborers and shortly afterward it burned down, about 1884.

Washington Passes Through Douglas Woods.

The following extract from the diary of George Washington pictures this part of the country as it appeared to him when he passed through in November, 1789:

"Saturday, 7th.

"Left Taft's¹ before sunrise, and passing through Douglas Wood, breakfasted at one Jacob's in Thompson, 12 miles distant; not a good house. Bated the horses in Pomfret, at Col. Grosvenor's, distant 11 miles from Jacobs; and lodged at Squire Perkins' in Ashford (called 10 miles but must be 12). The first stage, with a small exception, is intolerable bad road and a poor uncultivated country, covered chiefly with woods—the largest of which is called Douglas, at the foot of which on the east side, is a large pond². Jacob's is in the state of Connecticut, and here the lands are better, and more highly improved."

The Abandoned Farms, 1850-1900.

One by one, the buildings of this neighborhood decayed or were burned and the farms grew up to brush and were abandoned until now the cultivated farms are but three where there were formerly thirty.

One cannot withhold admiration from the settlers of these parts, who, undaunted by some of the roughest land which even New England can furnish, cut and burned the forests of oak and chestnut, cleared the land of innumerable stones, built the stonewalls, in themselves a Herculean labor, and, working

¹ In Uxbridge.

² Badluck Pond.

from starlight to starlight, made homes comfortable for that day. Such toils and sacrifices can be expected only from those who feel the responsibility of ownership and the certainty of reward for their toil. The children reared on these farms, the Howlands. Stones, Aldrichs, Kings, Buxtons, Angells, Greens and Eddys, were needed to develop the country and to lead the foreign born.

With the hardest task accomplished, that their descendants should have abandoned these farms seems unfortunate from the standpoint of agriculture. But that they should take up the fertile, stoneless lands of the West, or accept the Eastern town life, made easier by machinery and factory organization, does credit to their intelligence. If, at some future period, the food scarcity forces agriculture back to these lands, the stone clearing of the old pioneers will not have been in vain, and, in any event, their willingness to rear race-preserving families and to work till the work was done and be satisfied should be an inspiration to easeloving successors.

Appendix

Wallum Pond on the Maps.

The early mapmakers of northeastern America, with but little knowledge of the country, could hardly be expected to show this inland pond. Some of the Belgian or Dutch mapmakers wrote Novi Belgi or Nieum Niederland across this part of the map or located the Pequot Indians to the southwest or the Nipmucks hereabouts, but on most of their maps, this part of the country was left blank. Wallum Pond is not shown on the maps by Sauens, 1616; Jacobz, 1621; Le Laet, 1630; Woods, 1634; Winthrop, 1634; Blaen, 1635; no name, 1634; Woodward & Saffery, 1642; Dudley, 1646; Colom, 1648; Vischer, 1656; D'Abbeville, 1656; Arnold Colom, 1658; Visschero, 1659; Joilet, 1673; Randin, 1672-1682; Seller, 1675; Dankers, date unknown; Hubbard, 1677; White Hall's Mag., 1677; Stoughton & Buckley, 1678; Morden, 1690; Thornton, 1695; Magnalia Americana, 1697; Hennepin, 1698; Mather, 1702; and a Boundary Map of Connecticut and Rhode Island, 1703. The boundary map of

Rhode Island prepared by Mumford in 1720, by order of the Rhode Island General Assembly, does not show the pond. although it must have been known to Mumford, who was one of the surveyors. Wallum Pond is not shown on the maps by I. Harris, 1719; Neal, 1720; an English Pilot, 1731; Popple, 1733; by an unknown author, 1741; Sothock, 1746; or by the Boundary Commissions, 1750. The earliest map, to the writer's knowledge, which shows Wallum Pond, is that of Dr. William Douglas, published about 1753, in which the name is given as Walamp Pond. Thomas Jeffreys' map, 1755, showed the Pond, copying several names of this vicinity from the Douglas map. John Mitchell's map in 1755, Thos. Kitchin's, 1758, and that of an English Pilot, 1758, failed to show it. Carrington Bowles, in 1771, showed the pond without name. Jeffreys' map in 1774, Sayer & Bennett's map in 1775, Lottner's in 1776, Le Rouge's, 1777, Kitchin's, 1778, showed the pond as Walamp, evidently derived from Dr. Douglas' map, as several of his mistakes were copied. J. Almon, 1777, failed to show it. Maps published by Political Magazine, 1780, Universal Magazine, 1780, "A map of R. I. and Conn. by the best authorities, 1780," a map by Covens and Mortier, Amsterdam, a map by Brion De La Tours, 1782, fail to show the pond. Admiral Ternay, 1780, showed the pond without name. Norman, 1785, showed the pond as Walamp, the pond draining northward through Douglas. Osgood Carleton's map in 1793 showed the pond but gave no name. Fadden, 1793, failed to show it. Morse, 1794, showed the pond all in Douglas without name. Samuel Lewis, 1794, showed the pond running lengthwise, east and west, and draining northward through Douglas. In 1795 Caleb Harris showed the pond all in Rhode Island as Allum Pond, probably the first one to show it from independent information since Dr. Douglas's map of 1753. Maps by Scott, 1795; Faden, 1796; Tanner, 1796; Morse, "For a Geography," 1796; Reid, 1796; H. Harris, 1796; Sotzman of Hamburg, 1796; for Payne's Geography, 1798; and an unknown map, of 1800, showed the pond as Allum Pond, much the same as Harris. Osgood Carleton, 1801 and 1802, showed the pond without name. Carey, date unknown, shows Allum Pond all in

Rhode Island, and Lewis, 1804, shows it almost touching the Connecticut line. A map in 1806, author unknown, shows it about half in Rhode Island and half in Massachusetts. Lucas, 1816; Benoni Lockwood, 1819; Ruggles, 1819; Lucas, 1822; A. Finley, 1824 and 1825; Buchon, 1825; Weiland, 1826; Hale, 1826; Goodrich, 1831; and Stevens, 1831; showed it as Allum Pond. Carter, 1825; Huntington, 1830; Finley, 1830; and Pierce, 1831, failed to show it. Carter, 1830, showed the pond without name. Hitchcock, 1832, failed to show it. Boynton, 1835, showed it as Wallum Pond. Wells, 1836, showed the pond without name. Bradford, 1838, showed it as Allum Pond. Mitchell's Geography, 1839, failed to show it, as did Burr in the same year. Dearborn, 1840, showed it as Wallam Pond. Jackson, 1840; Morse, 1842, and Borden, 1844, showed it as Wallam. Stevens, 1846, adhered to Allum Pond. Ensign and Thayer, 1847; Goldthwait, 1849, and again in 1850, showed nothing. Howland, in 1851 (?), showed the pond but no name. Walker, 1852, showed it as Alum Pond. Cowperthwait, in 1853, and Colton, in 1855, showed the pond without name. Walling, for the first time to the writer's knowledge, showed it as Wallum in 1855, and only since 1860 have the mapmakers settled on Wallum.

The Indian Sachem Allumps.

Mr. William B. Cabot, who has made a study of the Algonquin language, through association with the Indians of Labrador, writes me that "Hyems appears like another form, perhaps dialectic of Allums. The Nipmucks used 'L' mostly where the Narragansetts and some others used 'Y.' As h—aspirate goes in Algonki, generally, I should take it here as an intensive, conveying that Hyemps was superlative in some way." As Allumps was a renegade Narragansett who lived among Nipmucks, Quinebaugs, Narragansetts and Shetuckets, Mr. Cabot's explanation of the different pronunciations of his name is supported by facts in Allumps' personal history.

Trumbull tells us that the Quinebaug Indians¹ under Allumps and Aguntus, were 400 or 500 in number, always peacefully

¹ Trumbull, History of Connecticut, p. 337.

disposed toward the whites, but that when an Englishman attempted to settle in Quinebaug, about 1650, he was driven out by Hyems's (Allumps) threat to "bury him alive." Allumps' first act of importance to the colony was his sale, together with his brother, Ma-Shan-Shawitt, and the Sagamore Aguntus, of their lands in the Quinebaug country (now Plainfield and Canterbury, Conn.) on April 28, 1659. In his deed of sale, Allumps reserved forever for his people the privilege of "hunting, fishing, and convenient planting" and during their lifetimes, as in former times, the tribute or acknowledgment of sachems in two particulars, "The skin of every black woolfe and the skin of every deere killed in the river."

On May 12, 1659,1 Allumps gave possession of the Quinebaug country to Joshua Huse and Amos Richardson and marked some of the bounds for them. When they came to the brook Waynemasis, which they claimed was the east bound of their country separating Quinebaug from Narragansett, they asked Allumps how far it reached toward the northeast and Allumps answered "It was a day and a half (journey), which we judged might be about some forty or fifty myles." Had Allumps made a more modest claim to territory and the white men considerably reduced their estimate of a day's journey, Allum Pond would still have easily been within this absurd claim.

John Quitamoz² told the legislative committee that he was present and saw divers goods given to Aguntus and Hyems by Gov. Winthrop while Hyems was discoursing about the sale of Quinebaug. Miss Larned states that "Aguntus at first blamed Hyems for selling land that was not his, and made him, in the presence of Winthrop, pull off a coat he had received in payment. A roll of tucking cloth, two rolls of red cotton, wampum, stockings, tobacco pipes, and tobacco secured his (Aguntus') consent." Uncus, the Mohegan chief, whose dwelling place was near New London and to whom Allumps owed allegiance, afterward sold these same lands to Major Fitch, and there was a controversy among the rival claimants which led to fighting. The

¹ Winthrop Papers, Document 110, State House, Hartford, Conn. ² Town and Lands, Vol. 2, Document 186.

settlement of the claims of Winthrop and Fitch in favor of the latter, with reservations for the former, necessitated an investigation which throws much light on Allumps.

The life of Allumps, according to his Indian biographers, Tuckcheon and Passagcogon, testifying before the legislative committee in 1704, is here given verbatim.

Examination of Indians.

"Q What is your name¹. A tuckcheon Q What age are you A a little more than 80 years old Q What Country A Mohegin O did you know Hyems A yes O what Countryman was Hyems A his mother was a Coesit² Squaw his father of Narraganset Q what occasion brought Hyems into these parts A he killed (blotted) and that was the Reason of it. Q whas Hyems a Sachem In the Narraganset A a Gentleman he was. O Whither did he come when he came from the Narraganset A Pawtuckquachooge O how many men did Hyems bring into the Country A about 40 men Q whither Massanshawet and aguntus came with Hyems A they came all together Q who was the chief Sachem A aguntus O who gave Hyems and Aguntus Leave to dwell at Egunck A they were Cozens to Uncas and he gave them Leave Q whither Ever the Narragansets Laid any Claims to the Quinebauge Land A no Q whither you Remember when Hyems Came A no Q was there many Indians belonging to Quinebaug when Hyems came A a great many three sorts of people the Quinebaugs the Shatuckets and the Nipmucks Q had these Indians any Sachem of their own A they had none but went were they pleased Q did the Quinebaug Indians Ever own Uncas as a Sachem A that they paid him Royalties Q where did Hyem use to live A lately at Egunk Q do you know the great falls what the name of them A Powtuck and a Hill near the falls called Equiunck O do you know who built the fort near the falls A assogut & nemo Q what Indians were these whither Uncas or Hyems A he does not know Certainly but they Carryed Sometimes to Uncas sometimes to the Narragansets presents

¹ State Library, Hartford, Conn. Town and Lands, Vol. 2, Document 187.

² Coesit was in Warwick, R. I.

Q whither Ever Hyems Lived at this fort A no Q whither you know Hyems bounds A no Q seeing uncas Setled Hyems In this Country whither he Counted it Uncas his Land A that it was the Quinebaughs and that they desired uncas that he would Let them have Hyems for their Sachem.

Passagcogon¹ a Quinebauge Indian being Examined and asked where the great falls were Answered up to the Northward. Q. what they were Called In Indian Answr Powtuckweek. That there is a Pond beyond it Called Masshapaug. That a Little River comes into it on the Eastward Side. That formerly there was a Fort a small one there in which only four families had Wigwams the principal Called Wan-nun-Chaumooh. Q what the Little falls were Called he answered Powtuxset and that they were to the Southward; Q where Hyams his fort was in former Time Answ^r at Egunk when he said Passacogon was a young man before the war on the Southward of Greenwich path and that he had another in the Narraganset War by the side of the path Q Whither ever Hyams had a fort and Lived at the upper falls. Answr No he never had any fort there but always Lived at Egunk Save one year he Lived over on the West Side Quinibaug River because he was afraid of the Narraganset Indians and Uncas bid him Live there but did not give it to him:

Q Whither the Quinibauge Indians were Hyams' his men and were subject to him:

Answ^r No they were not their Sachem were at Shawtucket Q From whence Hyams Came;

Answ^r from Narragansett upon Occassion of a fight or Quarrel and Came to the Moheag Sachem and asked him where he should Live and that he had Leave from him to Live at Egunk."

¹ State Library, Hartford, Conn. "Indians," Vol. 1, Document 54, pp. 5 and 6.

Journal of Abraham Mason.

June the 6, 1798	To sharp a plow shear	0- 0-8
November the 2, 1805	John Keith acompt	0- 0-6
	To twenty six nals	
	To iron rod made 8 pounds	0- 8-0 0- 2-0
	To one pare of hinges	0- 2-0
	To set three shews	0-1-0
	To nals	0- 1-0 0- 6-0
	To two pare of hinges	0- 0-0
	To mending iron bar	0- 0-9
D 1 11 11	To making thirty nals	0- 2-0
December the 11	to set four shews	0- 2-0
January the 18, 1806	to mending a slay tong	0- 9-0
February the 6	to one ox yoke staple & ring	0- 9-0
May 2	to sharp a plow shear	0- 1-0
November the 1	to sharp a shear	0- 3-0
January the 2, 1807	to two lode of wood	0- 5-0
May the 28, 1813	Doctor Burden acompt	0- 4-6
M. 41. 27 1012	to shewing hors	0- 4-0
May the 27, 1813	Nathaniel Carat acompt	0- 3-0
1012 34 41 2	to shewing oxon	0- 3-0
1813, May the 2	Comfort Davenport acompt	0- 6-0
1017 34 41 26	to one Broad hoe	0- 0-0
1817, May the 26	Martin White acompt	0-18-0
	to eighty bushels of cols	
1 1 0 1014	to six pounds of codfish	0-2-3
January the 8, 1814	to making four chans	0-14-0
October the 8	Joseph Benson acompt	0 1 6
December the 14, 1815	to Docking colt Joseph Benson	0- 1-6
December the 14, 1015	cradet for three turkey	0-12-0
September the 8	Elijah Whitman acompt	0 12 0
September the o	to half Bushel salt	0-2-6
	to half pound tea	0- 2-0
	to four pounds of sugar	0- 3-0
January the 18, 1830	John Robens	000
January the 10, 1000	to one barrel of cyder	0- 9-0
August the 15, 1816	John Keith acompt	
rugust the 15, 1010	to carten sadletrees to Boston	0-6-0
July the 13, 1824	Eben Craggan acompt	
July the 10, 100.	to twenty pounds makrale	0- 4-9
July the 10, 1800	Otes prat acompt	
july the io, iooo	to half hog head of lime	0-9-0
January the 3, 1805	hezekiah Cots acompt	
junuary the of 1000	to one Boccher nife	0- 1-0
	to one ox	0-9-0
May the 25, 1807	Otes prat acompt	
11245 616 20, 2007	to making a nife	0-1-0
October the 2	to one gallon melases	0- 4-0
1817, August the 11	William Bates acompt	
, ruguet no 11	to two day moen in your meadow	0-12-0
1807, February the 6	Elias Joy	
	eight pounds pork	0- 6-0
1806, April the 9	Jacob Cutler	
	to nine pounds veal	0- 3-0
1807, May the 9	to one shote	1- 4-0
	to one cord wood	0- 7-0

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY Collections

Vol. XVI

April, 1923

No. 2



MARY WANTON WIFE OF GOVERNOR JOSEPH WANTON From original in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society

See page 41

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Issued Quarterly 75 cents per copy

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RHODE HISTORICAL



ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

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The Discovery of the Real Palatine Ship.

Whittier's well-known poem, "The Palatine," has immortalized the Palatine Ship, its wreck upon Block Island, and the various weird and fantastic traditions in regard to its annual reappearance as a fiery phantom ship. The facts in connection with the wreck have been very vague. The date of its occurrence has been placed variously in the years 1719, 1720, 1747, 1752 and 1755. The traditions of the Palatine ship, as might be expected, vary in many details.¹ The principal points common to the various stories, are that a ship carrying emigrants from the Palatine sailed from Holland, bound for Pennsylvania and that after a long passage, during which many of the passengers died, the vessel was wrecked on Block Island. Some 16 or 17 surviving passengers were landed, but that of these "three only survived, who remained and became inhabitants of the island."

¹Book Notes IV. 87, also II, 52, 93; IV, 93; XXVIII, 133; Narra. Hist. Reg. I, 152; V, 253; Sheffield's Block Island. p. 39; Livermore's Block Island, p. 112; Points of Hist. Interest in R. I., p. 86; *Providence Journal* Aug. 26, 1894, *Tribune* Apr. 15, 1906, and *Newport Mercury* Aug. 6, 1904, Aug. 13, 1904, and July 29, 1905.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In examining some old Boston newspapers I recently found five items that identify the "Palatine Ship" as a real ship that was wrecked on Block Island the day after Christmas, December 26, 1738. These items are as follows: "Newport, January 11. We are informed by a Letter from a Gentleman in Block Island, dated the 1st Instant to the Hon. John Wanton, Esq. our Governor, that a large ship about 300 Tons, was Cast away on that island the 26th of December last, reckon'd to be worth twenty Thousand Pounds Sterling Ship & Cargo, which came from Rotterdam last August, but last from Cows, having on Board 340 Palatine Passengers & Servants bound to Philadelphia, but near 200 of them dy'd in their Passage, the remainder came on Shore, 20 of whom are dead since they came on the Island.

Upon this melancholly News, our Governour sent a Magistrate and other proper Officers yesterday to Block Island to see how Matters are, that these poor People, may have Justice done them."—(*Boston Gazette*)

"New-Port, Rhode Island January 12, 1738.9

We are informed by a Letter from Block-Island, dated the first Instant, to the Hon. John Wanton, Esq; our Governour, That a large Ship of about 300 Tons: was cast away on said Island the 26th of December last; she was very Rich, reckon'd to be worth Twenty Thousand Pounds Sterling; she came from Rotterdam last August, but last from Cowes in England, having on board 340 Palatine Passengers and Servants bound to Philadelphia; but having a long Passage near 200 of them died while on it; the Remainder came on Shore, and 20 of them are dead since they came on the Island

Their Captain, whose Name was Long, died in the Passage, and his Mate took the Charge of the Ship as Captain and Commander, after the said Long's Death; and he being often desired by some of the Gentlemen of the Island, to suffer the Passengers to take their Goods out of the Ship, he absolutely refused it; tho' many of them saved their Silver and Gold: Tho' all possible Means were used to prevent clandestine Actions, many have lost by Extortion and other ways, a great Part of the little which they saved. After the Ship broke to pieces there was abundance of Goods came ashore, but the Owners cannot have any of them, without paying a third Salvage, besides which a great Part of them are confiscated, together with great Quantities of Silver and Gold: In short, Tongue and Pen cannot relate the present Circumstances of the poor Palatines, whose Number is said to be but only 85 Persons.

Upon this melancholy News our Governor sent a Magistrate and other proper Officers to Block-Island, to see how Matters are, that those poor People may have Justice done them."— (Boston News-Letter)

"New-Port, Rhode Island January 19.

Last Tuesday Night arrived here Peter Bourse, Esq; with the rest of the proper Officers that were sent by our Authority to Block-Island, to inspect into the Affairs of those poor distressed People the Palatines, by whom we are informed as follows:

That the Ship mentioned in our last Print stranded upon Block-Island, being chiefly owned by Persons belonging to Ramsgate in England, and commanded by George Long, left Plymouth sometime in August bound for Philadelphia, with about Four Hundred Palatines on Board, which they took in at Rotterdam: That an exceeding bad Fever and Flux prevail'd among them; That but about One Hundred & Five were landed upon Block-Island; and that since their Arrival there, their Illness continuing, the Number is reduced to about Ninety. Capt. Long, with several of the Marriners, died on the Passage. The chiefest Reason assign'd for so great a Mortality, is the badness of their Water taken in at Rotterdam in Casks that had before contained White and Red Wines. The Hull of the Ship (which had no Cargo in belonging to the Owners of her) together with the cluiefest Part of the Goods of the Palatines are entirely lost in the Sea; great Care has been taken by the Authority, that what is saved may be secured for the Benefit of those surviving distressed People, many of whom it is said left their Country, purely to enjoy their religions Priviledges in America."-(Boston Gazette and also Boston News-Letter)

"Rhode-Island, March 16.

Last Wednesday arrived here Fifty Palatines from Block-Island, viz Men, Women and Children, who sail for Philadelphia with the first fair Wind.

Mr. Boydell,

SIR,

In your Gazzette No. 991. you inform the Publick of a Letter from a Gentleman in Block Island, to John Wanton, Esq; Governour, that a Ship was cast away on this Island in her Passage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia, with a considerable Number of Palatines; on which melancholly News the Governor sent proper Officers to said Island to see that those poor People might have Justice done. In the mean while the Officers here must consequently sit as idle Drones without any Regard unto those unfortunate People. And forasmuch as I am a constant Reader of your NewsPaper, I pray you to insert the following Account in your next: Those on the Spot being best capable to relate the Affair, that the World may judge whether said Officers discharged their Duty.

When first the Ship came to shoar the Captain went to advise with the principal Officer, who speedily repaired with him to the Ship, which lay on the North End of the Island, with her Bowsprit over the Land, being a steep Shore and sandy Bottom; the said Officer told him, she would go off again; he answered in the Negative, and said a Peice of her bottom was drove on shore, and that she had a great deal of Water in the Hold; on which he was advised to let go his Sheet Anchor, lest she should go off with the Palatines Goods, which he with much entreaty comply'd with; at which Time the Officers with many others made it their care and business to get on shore the distressed Passengers, and begged the Captain's Assistance, which he denied : However that Day was got on shore most of them. The Officers aforesaid, with many of the Inhabitants here begg'd of the Captain to suffer their Chests &c to be brought on shore (being in great Danger) and also to supply the Distressed with some Provision for present Sustenance, which he would not comply with, tho' at the same Time he told he had fifteen thou-



Pewter Button from the uniform worn by the Rhode Island Regiment in the Revolution. This is the only known specimen of the Rhode Island Revolutionary button and is now in the Museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society.



Contemporary view of the camp at Hudson Highlands, N. Y., where the Rhode Island regiment encamped in 1782. The camp is shown at the base of the mountain at the right. The Rhode Island button was found in this camp.



The ship Corea of Providence, Capt. Daniel Jackson. Painted on glass in 1840 by P. Weytz at Antwerp.

From a painting in the possession of Benjamin M. Jackson.

sand weight of Bread on board, but could not answer breaking of bulk; and he had got all the Goods belonging to himself and Sailors on shore. But the greatest Difficulty was in transporting those Objects of Pity, carrying some in Blankets, some on Mens backs, others on Horses (the Snow being deep) to two Cottages, a Mile from the Ship, the most of those People being sick, froze and almost starved, and two of the Women were froze to Death on the Beach before our People came to their Assistance; the next Day many of our People went to said Ship, and was told the Ship floated in the Night, and waited the Captain's coming ashore, whom the Officer here as well as many of the Inhabitants, again importuned with him, to have Compassion on those distressed Objects, in giving them Bread &c. having eat nothing in two Days, and also to suffer their Goods to be brought on shore, which Request he did not absolutely deny, but said he could not spare his Boat, nor any of his Men, he having occasion for them in saving the Tackling of said Ship; he was answered by the Officers &c. if he would give leave they would get on shore their Goods &c. he said he had more regard to the saving said Tacking &c. than in saving the Palatines Goods, and little or nothing was done; in the mean time, the Distressed greatly suffered, being obliged to go 4, 5, 6 Miles, to get them Provisions, no Inhabitants being nearer. The Captain did order to unbend the Cable from the aforesaid Anchor (as his Men and others whom he had employed testify) and the next Day the Ship was a-drift with all the Palatines Goods and Money &c. and by several we are informed with two living Souls. Some of the Neighbours went in a small Vessel on board said Ship, and took out 20 Chests, with a considerable quantity of their Goods, which were brought on shore and housed; and the next Day the said Ship came on shore on the west side of the Island, where she stove to pieces, the Wind being at W. considerable of the Goods &c. came on shore much damnified; and the Authority here used their endeavour to secure the same for the Use of the proper Owners. Many clandestine Actions were done, for the preventing of which the principal Officer here granted a Precept to a Constable to seize the aforesaid Goods, in

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the Execution of which the Authority was abused, and the Officer exposed.

On which a Letter was writ to the Governour to represent that Affair, who sent a superior Officer to suppress such insolences. Peter Bours and Hezekiah Carpenter, Esqrs; came and were very helpful in suppressing those Insolences and advising in the aforesaid Premises, and the Officers here have made it their chief Business, to see the distressed provided for, and that no Injustice or Extortion be done to them, and the aforesaid Goods disposed of to the best Advantage for defraying their Charge, and the Remainder to be equally divided among them; also a most secret and solemn Oath administred to all Persons suspected to have any of those People's Goods &c. that the same forth with be delivered for their Use; and a Committee was chose to see that no Extortion should be used on those poor People, and that in all Cases Justice should be done, which Committee were engaged to the same.

> S Ray, John Dickens, Ackurs Tosh Thomas Dickens Nathanael Littlefield

Test. March 2d. 1738

(Boston Gazette)

It will be noted that these contemporary newspaper items not only give a real account of the real Palatine ship, but refute aspersions cast on the Block Islanders by some of the traditions followed by Whittier, and vindicate the character of the inhabitants as a whole.

H. M. C.

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Notes

A pewter button lettered "R I R" and worn by a Rhode Island soldier during the Revolution has been given to the Society by Mr. W. L. Calver of New York, and is illustrated in this issue of the *Collections*.

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society :

Mr. Sydney R. Burleigh	Miss Gladys R. Lane
Mrs. Janet B. Guild	Mrs. William B. Mason
Mr. John Luther Howland	Mr. Edward S. Moulton
Mr. George Hurley	Mrs. William P. Young

Mr. J. E. C. Farnham has presented to the Society a handsomely bound complete file of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, I. O. O. F., of Rhode Island.

An illustrated account of the Rhode Island Historical Society was printed in the *Providence Sunday Journal* of November 19, 1922.

The thorough and interesting "History of Groton, Conn.," by Mr. Charles R. Stark of Providence, which has just been issued, is a welcome addition to our shelves.

A new genealogical work of interest to many Rhode Islanders is the "Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke" by Alfred R. Justice.

The Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station has issued a pamphlet entitled "Horse Raising in Colonial New England" by Deane Phillips. A considerable portion of this work is devoted to a study of the Narragansett Pacer.

An illustrated account of the old cannon, which may be seen in Providence and vicinity, appeared in the *Providence Sunday Journal* for November 26, 1922.

The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1921, which has recently been issued, contains an article on "Oaths of Allegiance" in which over eight pages are devoted to a study of the *oath* or *affirmation* required by law in Rhode Island. The Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island has issued "An account of the Rhode Island Colony Sloop Tartar," which served as the colony's warship in King George's War (1740-1748). The official documents relating to the Tartar are printed in full. This is one of the few life histories of Rhode Island vessels that have been printed. Accounts of a cruise of the colonial privateer Prince Charles of Lorraine and of the 1812 privateer Yankee were printed in Munro's "Tales of an Old Seaport," and of the Revolutionary privateer Providence in pamphlet form.

The Trade Book of the Rhode Island slaver *Adventure* of Newport has been printed from the original manuscripts in the library of George L. Shepley, with an interesting introduction and comprehensive notes by Prof. Verner W. Crane.

An account of the first ship "Ann & Hope" was published in the Rhode Island Historical Magazine, vol. 5, p. 92.

A deed from Robert Williams of Providence dated 1664-5 was witnessed by Roger Williams and Sam. Barnard. (Prov. Deeds I, p. 4.) It is quite possible that this Sam. Barnard was a brother of Mary Barnard, Roger Williams' wife, and identical with the Capt. Barnard mentioned by William Harris in 1666. (Some William Harris Memoranda, 1896.) This may serve as a clue to genealogical work in England in connection with the ancestry of Mary (Barnard) Williams.

Mr. C. P. Olney has given to the Society the Family Bible containing the record of the Elisha Olney family.

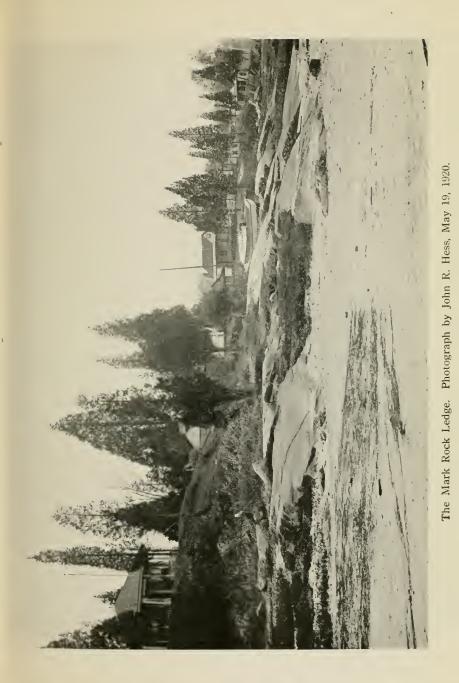
"L'evolution de la Race Française en Amerique" (Montreal, 1921) contains a chapter on the French Canadian immigration to Rhode Island.

Mr. Percy Coe Eggleston's "Lincoln in New England" includes several references to Lincoln at Providence.

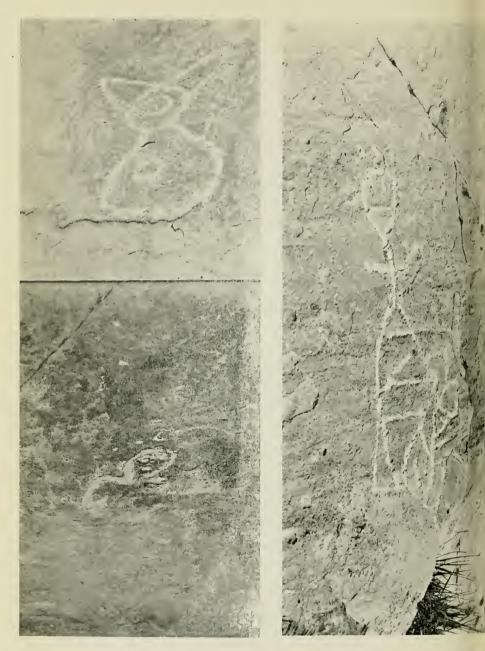
A biographical sketch of Usher Parson, by F. L. Pleadwell, which appeared in the U. S. Naval Medical Bulletin, vol. 17, has been reprinted in pamphlet form.

The Society has been fortunate in obtaining the original manuscript census return of 1798 for the town of Smithfield.

A series of illustrated Sunday afternoon talks has been held by the Society this season.



PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XXIV



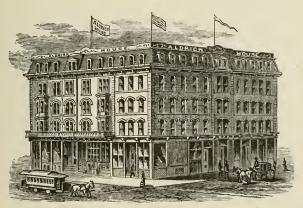
Mark Rock glyphs a (upper left), b (lower left), and c (right); photographed by John R. Hess, June 1, 1920.

WANTON PORTRAIT

Wanton Portrait.

The portrait of Mary Winthrop Wanton, daughter of John Still Winthrop and wife of Governor Joseph Wanton of Rhode Island, which is reproduced on the cover of this issue of the *Collections*, has been accredited to the English artist, John Hudson. This portrait, together with the one of Governor Wanton, also ascribed to Hudson, had been inherited by Mrs. Destailleur of New Forest, Hampshire, England, from whom they were purchased by Edward Perry Warren, Esq., who brought them to this country in 1891, and gave them to the Society, thanks to the kindly efforts of Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike of Boston.

Mr. Lawrence Park, a leading authority on early portraits, writes: "It is almost identical in every respect, with the exception of the face, to the Smibert of Mrs. Epes Sargent and I have used photographs of these two pictures to prove my point that Smibert kept in stock headless portraits from which his prospective sitters would make a selection. I think that the portrait of Mr. Wanton has been attributed to Hudson as well as that of his wife, but I feel very sure that this also is by Smibert."



Aldrich House, Providence, opened January 2, 1860 Destroyed by fire February 15 and 16, 1888

Report of the Treasurer

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1922.

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., Treasurer, in account with the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. For current account, viz.:

Dr.

	Cash	on Hand January 1, 1922				
In		Institution for Savings	\$832	00		
66		nd Hospital Trust Company	287			
"		xchange Bank	281			
66		ank of Commerce (Checking Account)	249			
" "		Bank of Commerce (Special Account				
			87	43		
66		Bank of Commerce (Special Account	~.			
			544	54		
"		Bank of Commerce (Special Account	••••	· ·		
			2,747	20		
66	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	nd Hospital Trust Company (James H.				
		e Fund, balance)	28	45		
Sr	0	nt No. 1, U. S. Treasury Certificates.	2,017	87		
		*	125	00		
		-			\$7,200	13
Re	eccipts from	Annual Dues	\$1,952		φ, ,ωσσ	
R	eceipts from	Annual Dues Books	\$1,952 76	00	<i>\</i> ,	
Re				00 01	¢, 3000	
R	" ""	Books	76	00 01 66	ψ, 1	
Re		Books Franklin Lyceum Fund—Interest	76 29	00 01 66 73	ψ, 1	
Re	 	Books Franklin Lyceum Fund—Interest Interest and Dividends	76 29 3,870	00 01 66 73 26	¢, 1400	
Re	 	Books Franklin Lyceum Fund—Interest Interest and Dividends Newspaper Account	76 29 3,870 127	00 01 66 73 26 75	¢, 1400	
R		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136	00 01 66 73 26 75 00	<i></i>	
Re		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 10	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00	<i></i>	
R		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 10 1,500	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98	<i></i>	
Rd		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 10 1,500 68	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98 50	4, 1400	
Rd		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 10 1,500 68 332 77	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98 50	4, 1 200	
R		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 10 1,500 68 332 77 8	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98 50 43 00		
R		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 10 1,500 68 332 77 8 6,728	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98 50 43 00		
R		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 1,500 68 332 77 8 6,728 50	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98 50 43 00 13 00		
R		Books	76 29 3,870 127 136 1,500 68 332 77 8 6,728 50 100	00 01 66 73 26 75 00 00 98 50 43 00 13 00 00	15,067	

\$22,267 58

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Cr.				
Annual Dues (Refund)	\$1	00		
Ashes	50	30		
Binding	288	25		
Books	568	32		
Electric Lighting	16	22		
Exhibitions	106	23		
Expenses	316	74		
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	14	22		
Fuel	333	41		
Gas	8	04		
Grounds and Building	151	15		
Investments	7,555	45		
Janitorial Services	377	69		
Newspaper Account	260	61		
Publications	1,037	72		
Salaries	3,616	00		
Supplies	169	12		
Telephone	62	49		
Water	8	00		
Special Account No. 1	398	70		
Special Account No. 2	877	04		
Transfer to Special Account No. 2	100	00		
Interest	20	97		
-		\$	16,337	67
CASH ON HAND December 31, 1922				
In Providence Institution for Savings	\$439	50		
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company	287	00		
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account				
No. 1)	1,775	58		
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account				
No. 3)	2,824	63		
" National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	270	34		
" National Exchange Bank	202			
Checks	130	00		
-			5,929	91

\$22,267 58

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., *Treasurer*, in account with the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 1, 1923.

LIABILITIES.

Grounds and Building			\$25,000	00
Permanent Endowment Fund:				
Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000	00		
Henry J. Steere	10,000	00		
James H. Bugbee	6,000	00		
Charles H. Smith	5,000	00		
Charles W. Parsons	4,000	00		
William H. Potter	3,000	00		
Esek A. Jillson	2,000	00		
John Wilson Smith	1,000	00		
William G. Weld	1,000	00		
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000	00		
Charles H. Atwood	1,000	00		
			\$46,000	00
Publication Fund:				
Ira B. Peck	\$1,000	00		
William Gammell	1,000	00		
Albert J. Jones	1,000	00		
William Ely	1,000	00		
Julia Bullock	500	00		
Charles H. Smith	100	00		
-			\$4,600	00
Life Membership Fund			\$4,750	00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund			734	52
Special Account No. 1 (National Bank of Commerce	e)	• •	1,775	58
Special Account No. 3 (National Bank of Commerce	e)	•••	2,824	63
			\$85,684	
Accumulated Surplus	• • • • • • •	•••	10,508	69
			\$96,193	42

Assets.

Investments:	
Grounds and Building	\$25,000 00
\$5,000.00 Bonds, The New York Edison Com-	
pany	\$5,447 85
\$4,000.00 Bonds, Cedar Rapids Manufacturing	
& Power Company \$3,000.00 Bonds, The Cleveland Electric Illumi-	3,228 88
nating Company	2,565 42
125 Shares, New York Central Railroad Company.	12,500 00
111 Shares, Pennsylvania Railroad Company	7,188 45
30 Shares, Lehigh Valley Railroad Company	2,112 50
6 Shares, Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company	241 85
40 Shares, Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light	
Company, preferred	3,900 00
55 Shares, American Telephone & Telegraph Com-	
pany	7,123 61
60 Shares, Providence Gas Company	5,005 68
Mortgage, P. A. and H. A. Cory	2,975 00
10 Shares, Duquesne Light Company, preferred	1,060 00
\$1,000.00 Bond, Denver Gas & Electric Company	950 00
\$1,000.00 Bond, Columbus Railway, Power & Light	
Company	970 00
30 Shares, Merchants National Bank, Providence.	1,800 00
45 Shares, Blackstone Canal National Bank, Prov-	
idence	1,050 00
\$1,000.00 Liberty Bond (U. S.), 2nd 4 ¹ / ₄	956 14
\$100.00 Liberty Bond (U. S.), Victory 43/4	100 00
6 Shares, Narragansett Electric Lighting Company.	335 00
\$3,400.00 Liberty Bonds (U. S.) 4th, 4 ¹ / ₄	2,976 81
Participation Account in Industrial Trust Company,	
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	734 52
\$1,000.00 Bond, The Government of the Dominion	
of Canada 5%	991 50
10 Shares, Union Tank Car, preferred, 7%	1,050 25
-	\$65,263 51
Cash on hand:	
In Providence Institution for Savings	\$439 50 +\$16 64
" Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company	287 00
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account	
No. 1)	1,775 58
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account	
No. 3)	2,824 63

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In National Bank of Commerce (Checking Ac-	
count)	270 34
" National Exchange Bank	202 86
Checks	130 00
	\$5,929 91
Total Assets	\$96,193 42

Respectfully submitted EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr. Treasurer Providence, R. I., January 6, 1923.

Examined vouchers and securities compared and found to agree. Except an item of \$16.64 interest on deposit in Providence Institution for Savings, which will appear in the 1923 statement.

> HORATIO A. HUNT ARTHUR P. SUMNER HENRY W. SACKETT Auditing Committee

The Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay By EDMUND B. DELABARRE VI. "Mark Rock" in Warwick.

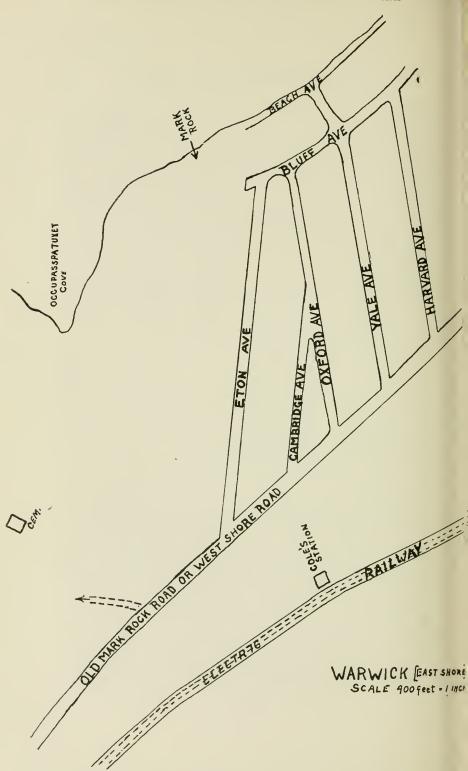
The most astonishing fact in all the history of the pictured rocks that we are studying is that one of the most interesting, instructive and easily accessible of them all seems never to have been mentioned in print as a rock bearing inscriptions. Many of its sculptured designs are clear and unmistakable. Some of them are as worn and dim and present an appearance of as great age as do those on any of the other rocks of this region. It lies within less than ten miles from Providence, close by an estate that was once a brilliant centre of social, intellectual and political life. It received a distinctive name, and gave its name to the whole neighboring locality, which was for a time a wellknown shore resort. Yet while Dighton Rock became famous and other petroglyphs about the Bay were joined with it as

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objects of controversy, this one slumbered in obscurity. Its name was widely enough known, but only as applied to the locality about it. No one seems ever to have written a word about the rock itself and the curious records on it. Dr. Ezra Stiles, indefatigable searcher after "written rocks," lodged once less than half a mile away, yet never heard of it. Dr. Thomas H. Webb, no less eager to discover every "Inscription Rock" within reach, heard rumors of it but could not find it. How it could have been so near and so well known locally, and yet have remained so concealed from everyone interested in observing and describing such objects, is a mystery as great as that of the origin of the dispute-provoking records themselves, here and elsewhere. Now that it emerges from its long-guarded retirement, it bids fair to give more aid than any of its fellows in unveiling the mystery that has clothed them all.

My own first knowledge of it was due to Mr. Howard M. Chapin of this Society, who had met with the usual vague rumors of its existence, but learned of its exact location only after much difficulty, many futile inquiries and long delay. It is situated in the town of Warwick, on the west side of the Bay, seven miles distant in direct line from the State House in Providence and nearly two miles farther by road. The accompanying map, Plate XXI, indicates its exact position. It may be reached from Providence either by taking the cars of the Buttonwoods line to Cole's Station, or by following the highway passing west of Pawtuxet to the first left-hand main branch, which has been known at various times as "River Road," "Shawomet Avenue," "Old Mark Rock Road," and "West Shore Road," the latter being its present designation. The "avenues" shown on the map, leading eastward to the shore, are at present unfinished roads and are not actually named as the map indicates, "Yale Avenue" being labeled "Rock Avenue," and the rest of them without name-signs.

The known history of the rock is easily surveyed. Its older inscriptions must have been already long in existence at the time when Dr. Stiles wrote down in his Itinerary, on July 23, 1770,



Map of vicinity of Mark Rock in Warwick, reproduced from Richards' Standard Atlas the Providence Metropolitan District, 1917, volume 2, map 26.

that he "rode to W° Greens at Occupestuxet," where he remained for the night. The Widow Greene of that day was Mary Almy, who died in 1777, wife of John Greene of the fourth generation in Warwick, who died in 1762. Unfortunately, no one there seems to have known of his keen interest in such relics and so did not inform him of this one in the close vicinity. They must have been still there when Dr. Webb, on November 16, 1835, reported to the Trustees of the Rhode Island Historical Society that on the preceding July 31 he had unsuccessfully sought to locate a rumored Inscription Rock in Warwick.² The earliest actual mention of the rock that I can find is in a deed of March 26, 1847, from Sarah Cole to her three sons, in which the southeasterly boundary of the property conveyed is described as "at the shore near the marked rocks (so called)."³ Twice only I have seen the name in print as applied to the rock itself, but unaccompanied by any description: first in a list of rocks in Warwick given in J. R. Cole's History of Washington and Kent Counties (1889, p. 921), and second on the map of 1917 from which our Plate XXI is reproduced.

As a place-name of the surrounding region, however, Mark Rock is not infrequently mentioned. It was so designated, no doubt, because, as Sarah Cole's deed shows, its "marked rocks (so called)" were already thus locally celebrated. When the name was first given to the locality we do not know. Mr. Fred A. Arnold informs me that he used to visit the place as early as 1855, when it was already known as Mark Rock and was a wellknown small shore resort used for family parties. In 1865, Moses Greene leased "the whole length of Mark Rock Shore," after which, with a change of lessees in 1867, a wharf was built, the steamer What Cheer made regular trips between it and Providence, shore dinners were served, and it became a somewhat noted and not always particularly reputable place of resort until the buildings were destroyed by fire some time previous to

¹Manuscript Itinerary, vol. iii, p. 111. On the following page he carefully spelled out the word "Occupessuatuxet."

²Manuscript Correspondence and Reports of the Society, vol. ii, p. 74. ³Warwick Land Evidence, Book 26, p. 303.

1878.¹ The name Mark Rock is applied to the locality on maps between 1872 and 1881.² "Coles" is given as an alternative name on a map of 1877, and "Riverdale" appears instead in 1895.³ The name Mark Rock seems now to have wholly disappeared, and for many years the locality has been known as Cole's Station, or simply Coles.

These, however, are not the only nor even the most significant features in the history of this self-effacing memorial of the past: that it was a well-known local landmark, but absolutely unknown to any scientific observer; and that it was an object of idle curiosity to numbers of clam-devourers, attracted doubtless more by the neighboring sandy beach or by the opportunities for rowdy enjoyment than by the wonder and mystery of the rock. More important still is the fact that it was a familiar companion of the members, and a silent witness of the events in the history, of one of Rhode Island's most illustrious families,⁴ on whose land it was situated. John Greene, one of the original proprietors of Warwick and a prominent man in its affairs, bought from Miantonomi and Socononoco on October 4, 1642, the 700-acre tract called Occupasuetuxet.⁵ His son, John, "prominent and honored in public life," inherited this tract and called it Greene's Hold. Another son, James, settled at Potowomut, and a third son. Thomas, at "Greene's Stone Castle" in Old

¹Warwick Land Evidence, Book 35, p. 204; advertisement in *Providence Morning Herald*, June 14, 1867, p. 2, col. 6; *Providence Sunday Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1919, p. 2; Guide to Narragansett Bay, 1878, p. 37; *Providence Sunday Journal*, Nov. 28, 1920, sect. 3, p. 3, col. 6: "An Old-Time Fighting Resort."

²These *Collections*, 1918, xi 132, No. 88; 1919, xii 27, Nos. 96, 96 v, 96 vi.

³These Collections, 1919, xii 27, No. 96; xii 61, No. 133.

^{*}See "The Greenes of Rhode Island," 1903, from which the information and quotations in this paragraph are drawn.

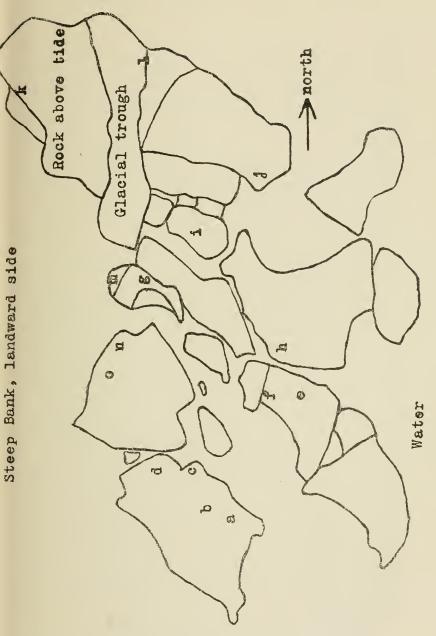
⁵This name has many variations in spelling. The preferable form should probably be either that of the deed, as above, or Occupessuatuxet, as Stiles carefully wrote it in 1770, doubtless from dictation by its then owners, or Occupasuatuxet, as adopted in "The Greenes of Rhode Island," probably as the later official spelling by the family. The many variants include: Occupasituxet, Octapaspatuxet, Occupasnetuxet, Occupaspatuxet, Occupessatuxet. The Chart of Narragansett Bay has substituted the name Turtle Cove for its neighboring water.

Warwick. The second John divided Greene's Hold between his son, Richard, who held the northern portion and continued to call it "Greene's Hold alias Occupasituxet," and whose descendants sold it in 1782 to John Brown, by whom it was called "Spring Green"; and his son, Job, who dwelt on the southern portion, called it "Pastuxet," and whose descendants sold in 1823 to the Cole family. Major Job is described as "a leading man of the town," and his home as "the centre of power and the seat of talent for the whole town." "The glory and hospitality of Pastuxet reached its height during the long life of Philip Greene, son of Job. Born in the old house in 1705, he died there full of honors in 1791. Like all his ancestors, he was Assistant and Deputy in the General Assembly, and in 1759 he became an Associate Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Kent County, serving continuously on the bench of that court for 25 years, during eight of which, from 1776 to 1784, he was Chief Justice of the court, holding that high office through all the troublous years of the Revolution. He was of commanding presence and of able mind. Immensely patriotic, he gave largely of sheep, cattle and money to support the army. And he gave a son, his eldest, the brilliant Christopher Greene. The old house at Pastuxet was always filled with company in Judge Philip Greene's day. . . . All the famous men who gathered around Governor William Greene and General Nathaniel Greene were the honored guests of Judge Greene." His son, William, "possessed fine literary tastes and mathematical skill," and continued to dispense the traditional "open-handed and open-hearted hospitality" of this famous home. Clearly, the atmosphere and romance of the rock cannot be fully grasped without realizing its intimate association with this remarkable family.

Mark Rock is not a single rock, but an irregular ledge, broken up into a group of more or less fully separated fragments. Its general appearance is well indicated in the photograph of Plate XXII. Plate XXIII gives a plan of its more important separate divisions, to aid in locating the pictographs and inscriptions scattered irregularly over the surface. In length it extends about 75 feet north and south, parallel to the shore, and in width

about 50 feet. It is a "graywacke" rock, similar to most of the others in this region on which inscriptions have been made; or, more exactly, according to Professor C. W. Brown, to whom samples were submitted, it is a medium to fine grained gray feldspathic sandstone, slightly sheared. Behind the main part of the ledge is a smoothly worn glacial trough, beyond which a small section of rock climbs a steep bank, rising beyond the reach of the tides. All the rest is submerged at high water, and wholly exposed at low tide. The ledge slopes gently down eastward toward the water at an angle to the horizontal plane ranging usually from ten to twenty degrees. Most of the component rocks are convex on top in the direction of the slope, though a few are nearly flat and horizontal. They are worn smooth and striated by glacial action. The color is a light gray on the higher parts where the action of salt water and its deposits is least, of a decidedly reddish tinge in many parts of the middle zone, and dark gray in general on the lower portions. In a great many places, especially in the middle zone, decomposition has so affected the outer surface that it tends to scale off at intervals in thin laminae, thus producing the appearance that Stiles and Webb described, in other similar cases, as an "incrustation." Unfortunately this tendency has seriously marred some of the older inscriptions. All of the older artificial lines are pecked in. Some are very distinct and unmistakable. Many others are faint, illegible, darkened to the color of the surrounding surface, in some cases making it hard to tell whether they are artificial or natural. Mingled with them are also very many modern names and initials, some of them dated, which are pecked, chiseled or scratched in, or painted.

Besides modern names and initials, I have found eleven designs, figures or groupings of lines on this ledge, distinct enough to be recognized as clearly artificial. I have designated them by the letters a to k, inclusive. All of them except k are indistinguishable in color from the rock itself, so that except in favorable conditions of lighting some of them are hard to discover. This fact, together with injuries in some cases due to the scaling off of parts of the "incrustation," make it certain



Rough Plan of Mark Rock Ledge

After an aeroplane photograph taken by the writer May 28, 1920, checked by inspection. Letters indicate position of marks discussed in text.

that they are much older at least than any of the dated names. But k looks fresh and is lighter in color than the rock-surface. This may be because it is so high up on the ledge that it is never submerged. Still, the oldest of the dated names, which were made in 1827, are also of a much lighter gray than the surrounding rock, and these are covered at high tide; so that I judge that k, as well as these, may be relatively modern. There seems to be no clue to relative age in the width, depth or manner of incision of the lines of the different designs. Like all the pecked characters of the whole region, they were made by blows of a rather blunt hard point, of stone or metal, and are very irregular in both width and depth. In width, the lines vary between extremes of about 5 to 20 millimeters, tending to an average of 9 to 12; and in depth they run for the most part from 1 to 5 millimeters, averaging about 3.

Mr. John R. Hess has generously photographed most of the designs for us. In examining the results, it must be remembered that it was often impossible to set the camera directly over the rock-carvings, pointing perpendicularly toward them, as would have been desirable; and consequently these cases are pictured with some degree of perspective distortion. Moreover, the lighting was rarely such as to give the greatest possible relief and distinctness, so that in some of the reproductions the lines are presented with less of clearness than when they are viewed on the rock itself under the most favorable conditions of illumination and point of view. Whenever close study left little or no doubt as to what the artificial lines actually were, I rubbed into them in most cases a thin layer of fine dry sand, which renders them much more readily visible without seriously interfering with a minute examination of their structure even under a magnifying lens. I refrained from doing this, however, in all cases where I regarded the lines as doubtful and also where they were sufficiently distinguishable without it. The approximate location of the different designs or glyphs should be sought by aid of Plate XXIII. Their most important features are as follows, dimensions being given in inches:

a (Plate XXIV, upper left-hand cut).--Apparently an orna-

mental design. Difficult to discover in some lights, but may be found by noting its relation to the crack shown in the photograph. Diameter of inner central circle, $3\frac{1}{2}$; of outer circle, $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 8; length of the two attached arms, 8 to $8\frac{1}{2}$; larger oval, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 13; its included circle, 3. Photographed from the north; sanded.

b (Plate XXIV, lower left-hand cut).—A human head and bust. Rather hard to find. Situated a little north of the middle of its rock-section, on the crest of its steepest slope, three feet west of a, five feet from north edge of rock. The surface here is much scaled, pitted, irregular and broken. Head about $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 5, whole figure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 12. Photographed from northeast; sanded.

c (Plate XXIV, right-hand cut).—Apparently an irregular, complex, meaningless grouping of lines; some suggestion of a rude human figure. Covers a space about 12 by 28. Photographed from northeast; sanded.

d (Plate XXV, upper cut).—Unquestionably many hand-cut lines here, but most of them faint and uncertain, and the design, perhaps a meaningless complex, greatly damaged by extensive scaling off of the "incrustation." A space at least five feet square was apparently covered with incisions. Photographed from southeast. No sand used, in order that the photograph may be studied without prejudice.

e (Plate XXV, lower cut).—Apparently an ornamental design. Difficult to discover. On its particular rock-section, it lies about in the middle from east to west, its centre being two feet from the north edge of rock. The oval part measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. Photographed from directly above; sanded.

f (Figure 4).—Apparently a meaningless complex of lines, very indistinct, occupying a space measuring about 18 by 30. Impossible to photograph satisfactorily. I have attempted, however, a free-hand rendition of the lines as I see them, submitted with much uncertainty as to its correctness.

g (Plate XXVI, upper cut).—An ornamental scroll, measuring 10 by 11, with some neighboring curved lines and angles less easy to decipher. The regularity and beauty of the curves is

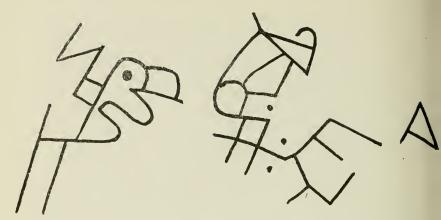


Figure 4. Sketch of probable markings in position f; looking northward

noticeable. Distinct on the rock, but not easy to photograph because partly covered by daubs of paint. Photographed from directly above; sanded.

h (Plate XXVI, lower cut).—For reasons given below, I class these zigzags as "signatures." Clearly observable. Together, they measure about 5 by 17. Photographed from directly above; sanded.

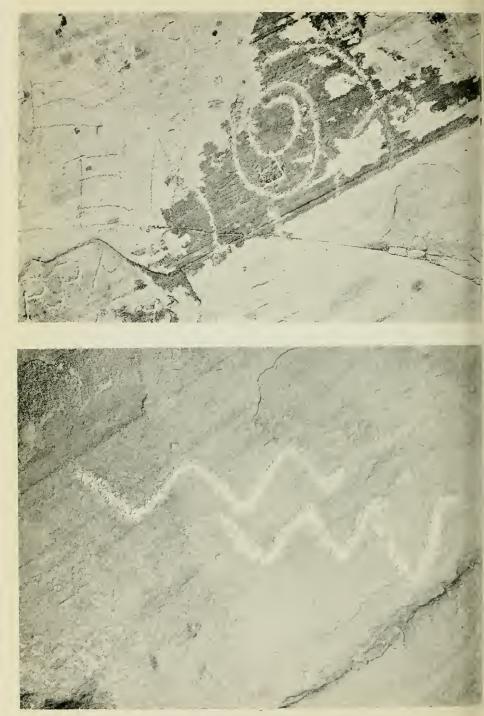
i (Plate XXVII).—A large section of the rock-surface here was originally covered with lines and figures, now greatly impaired by extensive scaling. The two photographs show portions of this surface, the upper one lying to the west of the other, with a space of about twelve inches between them that apparently contains little of interest. The area shown in the upper photograph measures a little under 18 by 24; that in the lower one, on a slightly different scale, about 19 by 29. The figures that remain near the bottom of the lower photograph are very distinct. One is somewhat boat-shaped, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. Across it, to the right of its centre, runs a line slanting upward to the left and disappearing in the scaled-off region; but it is fairly certain that its continuation can be traced within the latter, in spite of the scaling, and close examination makes it seem

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XXV



Mark Rock glyphs d and e; photographed by John R. Hess. June 1, 1920.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XXVI



Mark Rock glyphs g and h; photographed by John R. Hess, June 1, 1920.

probable that it ends in an arrow-point below the centre of the small island of unscaled surface within the scaled area. The whole figure, boat (or inverted bow) and arrow together, as we shall see later, constitutes a possible "signature." To the right of it lies what was once a definite and regular design, but now so mutilated that part of its original form and significance is uncertain. The diameter of each circle with inner dot is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the distance between them, centre to centre, is $6\frac{1}{2}$ below and 9 at the right. Besides the three circles clearly visible where no scaling has occurred, a fourth one can be unmistakably observed within the scaled area, 8 inches from its neighbor to the right and 81/2 from that below. A fifth circle lies within, half on the scaled, half on the unscaled surface. All of the circles have inner dots. Joining the two to the right is a straight line and also, to its left, a second line triply curved. Between the two lower circles is a single straight line, and between those at the left a curved line. Whether a line joined the two at the top is uncertain. One further line is distinctly visible curving downward from the central circle. Other uncertain lines are dimly indicated. There is even a faint but wholly doubtful suggestion that the entire inner figure may have been a rosette somewhat like that described under k, below.

The designs of the upper photograph are less clear and certain. Carefully examined, however, they seem to include at least: (1) at the left, a fairly well-defined complex "turkeytrack." or hand with spread fingers, or something similar, measuring about 5 by 7; (2) just below the centre, a clear circle, 2 inches in diameter, apparently with other uncertain lines appended; and below it, to the right, with a joining line, a somewhat goblet-shaped figure; the whole, together with a possible short line running leftward from the circle, suggesting a rather ludicrous representation of a bird; (3) in the centre, another somewhat boat-like or bow-like figure, about 2 by 5, apparently with a slightly curved line about four inches long running from it upward to the left, possibly ending in a faintly suggested arrow-point just below the upper margin of the picture; may be another "signature." Nothing more seems distinct enough even to guess at. The photographs were taken looking vertically downward, without sanding.

j (Plate XXVIII, upper cut).—A rude human figure. Diameter of head, $2\frac{3}{4}$; entire figure, 5 by $12\frac{1}{2}$. Photographed from directly above; sanded.

k (Plate XXVIII, lower cut).—An ornamental design, like a conventionalized rose; possibly modern. On highest part of ledge, above water. Central hole is $\frac{3}{8}$ deep, $\frac{1}{2}$ diameter, cupshaped; diameter of circle, 2; of total figure, 11. There is a large E $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches south of it, measuring 4 by 8; and the same distance northwest of it is an S, 5 by 9. Photographed from above; not sanded.

l.—This is a large, regularly shaped half-circumference, closed below by its 28-inch diameter; within, near the top, is a wellformed picture of an anchor, and along the diameter is written the name "Philip Greene," followed by the representation of a plough. It is situated at the edge of the glacial trough, and the lower part of it, including the name, is ordinarily covered by sand. It was made probably by the Philip, born in 1806 and married in 1832, who was the son of Thomas Lippitt Greene, son of the William who was the last one mentioned in our sketch of the family. Although not so stated in the family history, he seems to have indicated by his pictures that he combined the occupations of his father, a mariner, and of his grandfather, a farmer. The actual date of the inscription was very likely 1827, coincidently with two dated inscriptions, one of which also pictures an anchor. The lines are pecked in, but are narrower and shallower than most of those in the older inscriptions, being 3 to 6 millimeters wide and 2 to 3 millimeters deep.

m.—The name and date, "S. Low, 1827." It is scratched in, not pecked, with lines less than 3 millimeters wide and 2 to 3 deep.

n.—"I. W. Greene Oct. 14 1827" followed by an anchor. Lines scratched in, 2 millimeters or less wide and deep. This was very likely John Wickes Greene of the Stone Castle in Old Warwick, born 1809, married 1831, descended from Thomas, son of the first John, already mentioned. His occupation is not given, but his father, Robert W., is described as a farmer and captain in the merchant marine. This probably accounts for the anchor.

o.—"Stephen A. Lockwood Au 19 1837." Letters scratched in, in double outline, only 1 or 2 millimeters deep and the single lines hardly a millimeter wide.

p.-Numerous more recent initials of no particular interest.

Although we have no mention of Mark Rock or of the "marked rocks," printed or documentary, earlier than 1847, the dates on the rock itself carry it back as a place for records to 1827. But every one of the glyphs which we have described under the designations a to j is unquestionably much more ancient than this. The later ones are all clear, fresh and distinct, of a decidedly lighter grayness than that of the untouched rock, although they are narrower and more shallow than the older ones; while the latter are dulled to the gravness of the rock, often look indistinct and difficult to distinguish from the natural striae and pittings, and are frequently badly dilapidated by time. Many of them, too, are of unquestionably Indian type, and therefore, since they clearly show that they are not modern imitations, are probably as old as early Colonial times at least. These ten first-named designs or groups include three irregular and apparently meaningless complexes of lines, c, d and f; three ornamental designs, a, e and q, of a regularity, beauty and skill in execution rare in the case of Indians, who may or may not have been the originators of all of them; two or three regular designs with probably definite symbolism, including a dilapidated and therefore uninterpretable collection of lines and circles, a circle by itself with uncertain attached lines, and a "turkeytrack,"—all of them in i; two human figures, b and j, and possibly a third in c; and four characters that we have said may possibly be signatures. Separating those that are grouped in i, but leaving the complexes unanalyzed, this makes fifteen discoverable designs in all, not including those lettered k to p.

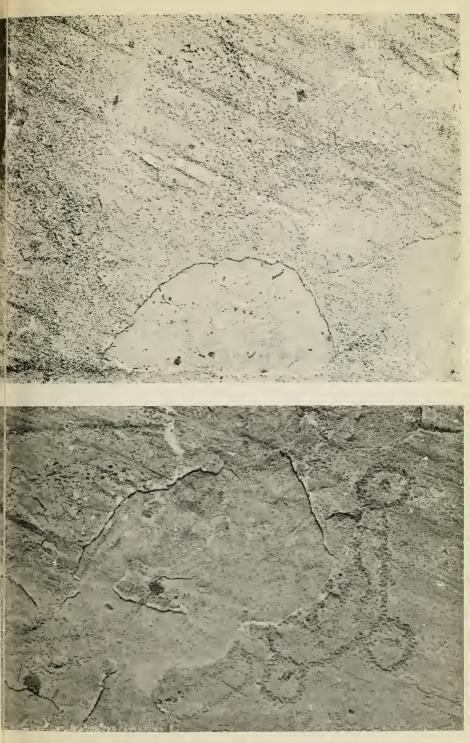
The irregular complexes are probably what they appear to be, mere meaningless scribblings, products of an unguided urgeto-do something. Our own children turn out something closely similar in their ignorant attempts to draw or to imitate grown people's writing. It is not by any means improbable that in these rock-scribblings uninstructed red men may have been similarly trying to imitate what they had seen white men do; but of this we cannot, of course, be certain.

The human figure in j closely resembles that on the rock at Tiverton. The diagonal lines across the breast, and the prominent "buttons," strongly suggest a military uniform. It may well be that Indians attempted thus to picture a white soldier of early Colonial days, an impressive object in the experience of the aborigines. The militia of those days wore no regular uniform, it is true, but they did have to carry powder-flask, pouch for shot, provisions, and sometimes sword or bayonet, and these were supported often by straps crossed over the breast.¹ If this is the meaning of the rock-picture, it helps to fix the probable approximate date of these pictographs.

This indication of a definite date gains strength from the four designs that I have classed as possible signatures. As to whether they are truly such or not, it would be unwise to venture too confident a judgment. Indians often affixed marks as signatures to deeds and similar papers. A very few of them, perhaps including Philip with his P, may have adopted a definite design characteristic of the individual and invariably used by him. But most of them seem to have made a more or less different mark every time they signed, and different individuals often used similar marks. Many examples of such signatures are reproduced in Chapin's Documentary History of Rhode Island. Among them, the following, made between 1637 and 1645, may have some bearing upon our discussion and may serve as illustrations of the mingled variability and similarity in practice. On five papers, Canonicus signed with a bow-shaped figure twice, differing bow-and-arrow shapes twice, and another design once. Nine of Miantonomi's marks are shown, all differing from one another though with some resemblances: an arrow four times, a bow-and-arrow twice, and entirely different figures three times.

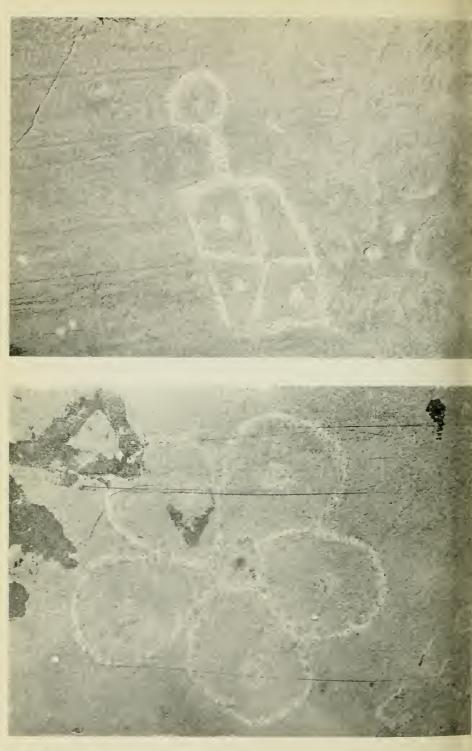
¹E. McClennan, Historic Dress in America, i 346. Alice Morse Earle, Two Centuries of Costume in America, pp. 685-687.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XXVII



Mark Rock glyphs in position *i*; photographed by John R. Hess, June 1, 1920.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY-PLATE XXVIII



Mark Rock glyphs j and k; photographed by John R. Hess, June 1, and May 29, 1920

THE INSCRIBED ROCKS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY

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Socononoco signed with differing bow-and-arrow figures four times. At least three other sachems used a bow-and-arrow mark during the same period, practically always with differences in detail. The arrow is represented sometimes by a straight or curved line only, sometimes as ending in an arrow-point. Usually the arrow is drawn starting naturally from the string, and crossing over and projecting beyond the curve of the bow. But in one case, illustrated below, the straight string is uppermost and the arrow, starting from it. projects upward away from the curve. Of course marks of many other shapes were used, besides those here mentioned.



Figure 5. Indian Marks or Signatures: of Washaganesett 'upper left), Wonimenatony (lower left', Miantonomi (middle), and Socononoco (right).

Four Indian signatures are reproduced in Figure 5. The first of them is that of Weshaganesett, and the second that of Wonimenatony, as they appear on papers signed at Aquidneck in 1639. The third is the way in which "Myantonomey." chief of the Narragansetts, wrote his mark on the deed of the lands of Shawomet to John Greene and others, 12 January 1642-3. The fourth is the mark of Socononoco as on the deed of Occupessuatuxet to John Greene in 1642.¹ It will be seen that the two parts of h on the rock (Plate XXVI) are as nearly exact duplicates of the signatures of the two first-named Indians as any two signatures of an Indian are of one another. The third signature greatly resembles the lowest left-hand design on i (Plate XXVII), not only in its inverted bow or boat-like shape, but also in respect to the line running from it and ending in an arrow-point. The other bow-like figure in the upper part

¹H. M. Chapin, Documentary History of Rhode Island, i 167, 170, ii 73.

of *i* also is of about the same type as the many bow-and-arrow signatures spoken of above. These resemblances suggest strongly that one or both of these bow-like designs on the rock may have been made by Miantonomi or Socononoco, who sold the adjoining lands in 1642, or by some other sachem who was accustomed to sign his name in this manner. We thus have four cases of close correspondence between rock-carvings and documentary signatures. One instance of such resemblance might well be attributed to chance. But where there are so many, in spite of variability in signatures of individuals, it becomes highly probable that the two sachems of Aquidneck, and one or more of the other Indians mentioned, having learned from the whites to use these marks, at some time not far removed from 1640 thus carved their name-symbols upon the surface of this rock.

I have enquired of residents near the rock as to whether any local legends or theories survive concerning it. The only indication of such that I have found was related to me by Col. H. Irving King of Apponaug. He writes: "The only legend in regard to 'Mark Rock' is that it was inscribed by the Norsemen and that the inscription is similar to that on the Dighton Rock. This is the belief among the remnants of the old settlers of Old Warwick. In the Greene family I know the Norse legend still persists. In my early youth in this village I heard Indian legends about a great number of places in the town but never a word about 'Mark Rock' in connection with the aborigines. The ascription of the marking on the rock to the Northmen is evidently a transference of the myth—if it is a myth—of the Dighton Rock to the one at Cole's Station."

There is no doubt that there is no more reason to attribute the inscriptions on New England rocks to Norsemen than to Phoenicians or Druids. The Warwick rock itself proves the mixed Indian and white-American origin of its markings, more clearly and certainly than is the case with any others of the rocks that we have studied. It is thus the most illuminating and instructive of them all. It has lain at our door with its lessons, in all probability, as long as any of them. But it has eluded all scientific observers, so that only now can its lessons be read. Among these, the following at least are important probabilities— I do not speak of them as certainties, for in a field like this it is difficult to speak of many conclusions as absolutely sure:

1. The markings are scattered, individual, unrelated, like the modern initials. They do not tell a single connected story. Many an attempt has been made to force the characters on Dighton Rock to do this, but such unified interpretations of it are all futile. On the other hand, it has been surmised, by myself and others, but without complete proof, that the carvings on nearly all these rocks, however crowded together on one surface, were made by many different individuals, on different occasions, through a considerable period of time. We may say that this is practically proven for Mark Rock, and thus its probability in the other cases is greatly strengthened.

2. I have elsewhere advanced rather strong evidence that the Portuguese explorer, Miguel Cortereal, may have been the first to use Dighton Rock as a recording surface, in 1511, and that later the Indians, following his example, acquired the habit of doing the same. In seems not unlikely that Indians, again following the example of white men's writings, first made use of Mark Rock's tempting surface sometime between 1620 and 1650, and that the practice continued at intervals, ending probably with the scattering of the race at the close of King Philip's War.

3. Some of the marks here, due to the Indians, are almost certainly meaningless scribblings, and others equally meaningless decorative designs. Our already expressed belief that this is true in other cases thus gains support.

4. Very few of the marks here seem to have any possible symbolic significance. Where such exists, it is individual and trivial, either a name, or an object like the soldier that had attracted interested attention. There is no story told, no historical event indicated, no information conveyed. This is not true, of course, of all Indian writings; but, so far as I have studied them, it seems to apply to a great many of their petroglyphic efforts everywhere. It is not impossible that the obliterated portions of the records here may have contained some small fea-

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ture conveying more elaborate meaning, yet there is no indication of it now.

5. If our surmise about the signatures is correct, then some of the marks are provably of Indian origin, and of early Colonial date. The figures which, here and elsewhere, probably represent Colonial soldiers, and our interpretation of the scribblings as inspired by white example, point with some force to the same conclusion. The belief that Indians, some at least, if not all, in early Colonial times, were responsible for the puzzling and much controverted markings on all the other rocks of the region, thus gains strength.

6. White men, after the Indians had gone, and because the Indians had begun the practice, carved not only their names and initials here, but also occasionally ornamental and symbolic designs, as is shown by the plough and anchors at least. Some of the earlier and better executed scrolls, and the rosette at k, may have been made by them instead of by Indians, but this is not sure. In like manner they carved initials, at least, in other localities, on all similar rocks to which their attention has been drawn. Those at Tiverton have thus far providentially escaped.

If these conclusions, all or most of them, can be accepted, then it is true that Mark Rock, so easily accessible yet so curiously elusive heretofore, contributes a great deal toward the solution of many perplexing questions about the numerous written rocks of this region that could not be decisively answered without its aid.

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS



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Rhode Island in 1780

By Lieutenant L. J. B. S. Robertnier

[The manuscript journal or diary of Louis Jean Baptiste Sylvestre de Robertnier (or de Robernier), lieutenant in the Soissonnais Regiment in Rochambeau's army, has recently been found in Europe and purchased by Col. George L. Shepley. The journal covers the period of the activities of the French troops in America during the Revolution. Those parts of it which relate particularly to Rhode Island are printed in the following pages, from the translation by Professor Edouard R. Massey.]

We steered directly for R. I. Nothing remarkable happened until upon seeing land when we moored on the 10th in the evening. The 13th in the morning, despite a very thick fog, we received pilots and we entered the Newport roadstead at 5 o'clock in the evening, to the satisfaction of every individual after a crossing of 72 days, having on board a large number of men attacked with scurvy, some of them in a critical stage. As for myself, I felt it a little. I had been fed very poorly and badly lodged in an infected air, how could one remain in good health?

I had not been seasick, but loneliness held me strongly, I should be very embarrassed to express at what point I was impressed by it. The Count of Rochambeau disembarked at once, accompanied by a few persons. Arriving at the city, he was very surprised; almost not a soul there, the stores closed, and the inhabitants very prejudiced against our country, would have I believe, preferred at that time rather see their enemies than their allies. We frightened them and our General had all the difficulty in the world, to find a lodging.

At last with the help of some good Americans, everything was fixed all right.

The first care of the Count of Rochambeau was to look for a place to establish a camp for the army which was in the greatest need of landing, so after a rapid reconnoitering, he pitched his camp, at the foot and in front of the city. Newport being the only city on the Island and the Capitol of the State of R. I.

The troops landed on the 14th and 15th they occupied camp in the following order Bourbonnais and Deux-Ponts, Soissonnais and Saintonge, all on the same line. The artillery covered the Head Quarters, and Lauzun's legion was posted ahead on a good position, which enabled it to discover anything approaching the coast. Its camp was at 1 mile from the army.

Hardly two days of rest had elapsed when we had to entrench ourselves and reinforce our camp, especially at the point where we could foresee an attack of the enemy, fortify the places where we thought they could try to land. Meanwhile we were landing our artillery.

Then we saw about twenty sails heading for the Island. We did not hesitate long to detect the enemy. That caused a considerable alarm, not yet being in a state of defense. We had landed only a few field guns. We carried them immediately to the places where we feared a landing. Our vessels were brought to bear, in the fear that the English would try to force the channel. They did not dare to undertake it, and after hav-

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ing remained a few days to examine us, they decided to retire.

We proceeded then quietly to the armament of the coasts and to build some redoubts. Our artillery¹ being all disembarked, we placed it at points of vantage.

The enemy appeared again from time to time during the summer, but as we were in a position to receive them, we desired to see effort on their part, rather than menace only.- We felt at the beginning of our arrival in Newport the difficulty of living in a country where the language is an obstacle. We were in want of everything. No store, no market no garden. The inhabitants were fleeing from us, the houses where the people were living seemed to us to be deprived of all resources. If the country was cultivated as it should be, it ought to supply many things .-- The Island of R. I. may be about 15 miles long and 5 to 6 wide the soil is very good, the fields in culture were splendid though small in quantity. There were very few woods on the Island because when the English troops evacuated² they had destroyed almost all of it, according to the report of some truthful inhabitants. This island was an enchanted resort before the war, everything was prosperous without the least care, the soil received anything and returned it with big interest to the happy inhabitants. The air is pure, in fact it was a delicious resort. The Southerners used to come there in crowds in order to recuperate their health that the heat of the south had disturbed. Everywhere could be seen evidences of what Nature had lavished for the enjoyment and use of the inhabitants.

The roadstead of Newport is superb, very large and a very safe moorage for the vessels. A good variety of fishes all excel-

¹Our artillery was composed of

12 ફ				2 howitzers		
				8 "		0
	"			6 mortars	66	12
16	••	• •	4	4 "	66	8

²They had evacuated the Island 10 months before, when M. le Comte Destaing came into the neighborhood.

It must be noticed that the principal citizens, either by fear or pleasure of seeing us, had on the very evening of our arrival a big illumination, the effect of which was beautiful from the harbor. On the following morning we returned their politeness by a salute of 13 cannon-shots.

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lent may be found there. Cod abound as well as different kinds of fishes known in Europe.

The roadstead is defended by a fort at the entrance of the Bay, this fort was called Brinton; we reestablished it. 12 guns of 24 would fire on the vessels trying to enter.

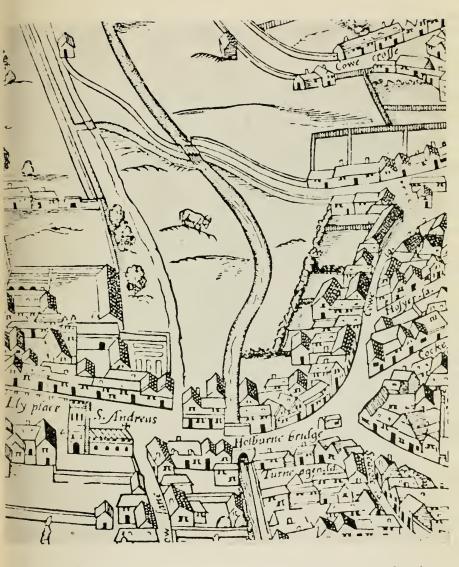
The mortars placed in the channel would fire on them upon their entrance, and later a little island situated ahead of the channel was armed with 40 guns of 36 taken from the vessels. Those being broadsided along the city, between this little island and another situated at some distance from the harbor and on which there was also artillery. As this roadstead had three entrances formed by 2 islands with the land, of which one is called the right channel, formed by the island of Rhode Island with the continent; the other formed by the island of Conanicut with the continent, and the one in the middle which was the large channel to reach the roadstead. The general fortified only the large channel and the right one, placing there a battery of 8 guns of 18 on the island of R. I. at the most narrow place of the channel, where a landing might be feared, and meanwhile to secure a point of communication with the continent and to be able to bring help without being disturbed.

The Count of Rochambeau did nothing for the left channel, it would have been necessary to establish a camp on the Conanicut Island. His army was not large enough to guard 2 islands, for that one was almost as large as that of R. I.

He made up the deficiency by placing batteries to defend the approaches of the city and of the island by the rear. Besides, the small island of which I spoke, provided with the artillery from the vessels fulfilled perfectly his object, this island was round and the guns could be carried to the place of need.

Newport may be called a large city, but there is nothing beautiful to note; The houses are almost all built of wood, but good looking because of their architecture, they fit very well the need of each individual. The interior is of a delightful cleanliness, as for the exterior, the houses are painted of different colors which make a pleasant variety. As for the furniture, it is not very elaborate, the Americans look only for the necessary, everything

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Section of Map of London, showing "Cowe Lane" (at right), as it was when the Williams lived there. The Church Tower near the lower right hand corner is that of St Sepulchre.

From Agas' map of London



SIR EDWARD COKE

through whose influence Roger Williams attended the Charter House School.

Courtesy of Providence Magazine

is simple, and of a cleanliness to enable anyone to look at himself everywhere. The way of living of the Americans deserves a special mention. Their favorite beverage seems to be tea. They ordinarily have tea from 4 to 5 P. M. The mistress of the house pours it and she gives some to every guest, it is impolite to refuse. Ordinarily this tea is very strong, and only a drop of milk is put in it. They also drink some very light coffee, putting in the little drop of milk already mentioned, to be complete I must add that they also drink chocolate.

They breakfast with coffee, chocolate and toasts on which they spread butter. They also serve cheese, preserved pickles and sometimes fried meat. It must be noted that even rather poor people always drink tea or coffee in the morning, they will sell, I believe, their last shirt to buy some, if they were in want of it. The kind of sugar they use marks generally poverty or richness.

Their dinner is made up of boiled or roasted meat with vegtables cooked in water. They make their sauce themselves in their own plate, they ordinarily put on their plate something of all the dishes placed on the table; there is enough to frighten an ordinary man; the sauce is poured on all that. On the table, one can find melted butter, vinegar, pepper. etc. They use what pleases them.

In general they eat much meat and very little bread, but vegetables take its place. People who are well off, have the table cloth taken off after dinner, then the women retire, Madeira wine is brought¹ One drinks and smokes for a long time. During the meal they pass a bowl filled with grog,² cider or beer for those who are thirsty, there are no glasses, it is always this bowl that they present to you when you are visiting. The host never forgets to offer something to drink but he always begins to drink first to your health then your turn comes. About 10

¹Well-to-do people and especially at private dinners when the women have retired, drink to the health of usages, these are so numerous that it is very difficult to leave without being a little tipsy, by the wine and the noise they make, when they begin to be intoxicated.

²Beverage made with rum and water, when they put sugar in it it is called "Tandis" and if they put lemon in it they call it "punch."

o'clock at night they have a light meal.— Americans are tall and well-shaped, but most of them seem to have grown after sickness. The women also have very little color and appear to be in poor health, they are very precocious, they fade early also. A girl of 20 years old, looks like one 30 years old in France. I must say however that I saw nowhere such a beautiful blood. Women as I have already said have very little color, but nothing can be compared with the fineness and whiteness of their skin. Their stature is charming and in general one can say that they are all beautiful, as well for the regularity of their features as for that one can imagine most perfect about beauty in a woman.

It is at dance that one must see them, then they have the colors they naturally lack, and one is struck with admiration. But they are in want on a very important point, they keep an icy air; out of dance they lose much of their charm, they have very little vivacity and humor when you are in their company.¹ If you desire to enjoy yourself, you must make the conversation interesting, animate everything by your French gayety or you will be lost, it is very difficult to do all that, especially when you cannot speak English. However when the young ladies are reassured about our manners, and deign to show themselves to us, we are ravished with admiration. Little by little the houses and stores were opened, some goods although at a very high price were displayed and finally friendship and courtesy took the place of the bad impressions that we had of one another at first.² They received us more like brothers than like strangers. We took quarters in the city to the great contentment of the inhabitants, who gave us good lodgings. They took the trouble of teaching us their language, desirous also of learning French.

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¹However I saw sometimes young people taking pleasure in our little innocent games in which one gives forfeits. They knew these games before our arrival.

^aThe English had made the French odious to Americans by idle remarks against us. They had imagined from their words that we were the most wicked and abominable people of the world. The English had carried their impertinence so far as to say that we were little, stunted, pale, livid, in a word some imitation of men. They had said, that we were living on frogs and snails and a hundred similar foolish things.

Very few in our army had to complain about their lodgings or their hosts. However, one can say, with reason that the character of this nation, is hardly made for society. Much coldness, little suppleness and even frankness among the men, with the exception of a kind of them called "Quakers," of whom I am going to speak.

Newport possesses many churches for the use of different religions, which are all tolerated in this country. The principal church is that of England. A large part of the city and even of the island is inhabitated by the Quakers. They are exceedingly solemn men as well in their dress as in their looks. They are very moderate, speak little, even very laconically, they thee and thou everybody, never take off their large hats, either upon entering or leaving a room. The foundation of their religion consists in fear of God and love for their fellow-men. It enters in their principles to take no interest in war. They dread all sanguinary actions, they refuse to take part in rejoicing, not only to innocent pleasures of society, but even the success of their nation. They do not want any slaves in their society, it is why none of them are served by black slaves. When they have one, they set him free. They are very charitable among themselves. They never take any oath, because they do not believe in the words of men. They also refuse to pay the tithe because they consider the demands made by the clergy as an usurpation, so they have neither priests nor ministers. Nevertheless they are obliged to pay taxes, imposed by congress, for the maintenance of war. Most of them are royalists. Their way of worshipping the Supreme Being, seems very particular, their church is open to everybody. They gather there twice on Sunday, morning and evening. Men and women are separated. One will never see men placed in the pews reserved for women. There reigns a profound silence and all the members seem buried in the deepest thoughts. Everybody is seated, men, women, girls have the right to speak when they feel an inspiration, then the person who finds himself in that condition is easily detected by his different convulsive movements, voice, body, all his limbs are shaken. Then everybody waits for the effects of

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the grace of the Holy Ghost and prepares to listen to the discourse which always follows this trembling. It often happens that they leave the church without a word, sometimes their discourse means nothing, or is of very little importance.

This sect is very rigid as I have said before, they seek no other pleasure than conversation and meditation. It is forbidden to sing and dance. The women are very pretty and naturally like pleasures more than the women of other sects (this is not surprising because of the restraint in which they are forced to live). They cannot accustom themselves to such great rigor, especially when they are young and pretty. They do not like their religion. They like it only at the age at which a woman in France begins to be devout. If the men are more sad among the Quakers than in the other sects, on the contrary, one finds among the Quakeresses more gayety and playfulness. They love pleasure, but they are always constrainted by fear of displeasing their parents. As they have no minister, they have no ceremony. They marry themselves in the presence of all their parents, relatives and friends. They promise faithfulness, they publish their intention, and sign their contract only to insure the possessions of the two parties for the sake of their children. Their wedding banquets are very sad, one must not speak. You can judge how amusing that can be. In this country one distinguishes two parties called Whigs and Tories. The Whigs are called good Americans. They fight for the freedom of their country. They resisted the unfair laws imposed upon them by England. The Tories are known by the name of Royalists, they remained faithful to the King's party. One can consider the latter in several manners, or better from different points of view. We have been in this country long enough to be able to define and analyze the character of these Tories. Most of them are cruel and cowardly. They have committed countless abominations and betraved their countrymen, time and time again. Now hesitating to take sides, one could see them waiting for a happy turn of events to decide, and place themselves on the side where they can see hopes of success. Now pretending to be good Americans, they were spies paid by the English govern-

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Shorthand Notes made by Roger Williams in his copy of the Indian Bible Now in Library of Brown University.



Courtyard of Charter House School, London, England, where Roger Williams received his early education

ment to betray their countrymen. A great number of these wretches decided to take arms against their country, lured by money and the permission given to them by the English of pillaging and ransacking the houses of their fellow-citizens. It is surprising that the fine government of the English should have closed their eyes on the atrocities and abominations of this execrable party. I saw some others who, tied up by their fortune and thankfulness, declared themselves to be of the King's party. They were very few and honest, but their misfortune and hatred that surrounded them could only produce pity due to the unfortunate. Three-fourths of the inhabitants were Tories. During the war one could not travel safely and had to fear these robbers who were almost always unknown. I will give an account of this more particularly in the course of this "Journal." How many misfortunes one must foresee by the division which will arise from the difference of opinion in a country where for the public welfare it would be necessary to have only one way of thinking. It is for the Americans to take a prudent party, if this war becomes favorable for their liberty.

I witnessed some pleasant scenes where Tories and Whigs were together in the balls we gave. We asked indifferently all families and we always noted that a woman Whig refused to dance where a woman Tory was placed and vice versa, men were more politic, but women in this country do not know what it is. It was at such a point that in the first ball the Whigs refused to come, knowing that certain families of Tories were asked. As the number of the latter was very considerable at Newport, especially in women, we were not wanting dancers, but later on, everything became softer and the women consented to dance together and all went well.

In April 1781, The Count of Rochambeau received deputations of savages who came to offer their services to him. These men gave an exhibition of their games. of their dances and the way in which they scalp their enemies.^{1.} These barbarians are naked and paint their bodies with varied colors. As

¹To scalp: is to take off the hair of a man with a knife, they raise the skin all around the head, then they easily take the hair out.

for their natural color, it approaches the red copper, they have a hole in each nostril where they hang some large medals as well as to their ears, several have their ears partially cut and hanging over their shoulders, they also tie to them many playthings of glass. During the severest cold they cover their body only with a woolen blanket. They are always in groups and well armed. They spent four days at Newport.

Rochambeau sent them away loaded with presents. The one who seemed to command and who haranged them was a Canadian who spoke French and who by taste had become their leader. These tribes have, after all, very good qualities, they are infinitely less barbarous than they appear. As a testimony to that, think of the war we had in Canada, then they gave us very good services. During February 1781, the vessels *Eveillé* and *Ardent* were sent from R. I. with some frigates to intercept forces who had left N. Y. to join General Arnold in Virginia.

The $Eveille^{i}$ being unable to join the 1st division, but coming within the capes of Chesapeake Bay, met the English vessel *Romulus* of 50 guns, escorting a convoy of 10 transports. The *Eveille* took all and sent the transports to Philadelphia and kept with her the "ROMULUS" She was armed and added to the fleet commanded by the Commodore Destouches. M. de Ternay had just died of a putrid fever, within 4 days.

One might be interested in knowing who General Arnold was. They used to call him General Washington's right hand. He had served well for America's liberty, he had acquired glory in several occasions.² He was a man of common class, but not lacking talents. He was lured by the English in 1780, to deliver them the fort at West Point, of which I will speak later.

Major André, Adjt. General of the English army was sent to N. Y. by Sir Henry Clinton, Commander in Chief of His Bri-

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¹Commanded by Mr. de Tilly.

²For instance—His retreat from Canada after the death of General Montgomery when he took command of the American army. He wanted to continue the works for the siege of Quebec, but the enemy had received help, so he was compelled to raise the siege, in the midst of winter, he made his retreat in the midst of the greatest perils.

tanic Majesty's forces in America, in order to discuss with him the means he would have to use to succeed in his infamous treason. Major André although in disguise was arrested by an American patrol at the very moment of his return to N. Y. Arnold learning of the arrest of André fled to N. Y. As for André he was hanged a few days afterwards in front of the General Washington's camp. The English made Arnold Brigadier General and used his services as such in Virginia. He had all reasons to repent of his infamy. The English officers refused to serve under his orders, they despised him, and he deserved such a treatment. Ashamed of his baseness, he asked to go in England, where he lives today despised, without doubt, and held in abhorence by everybody. After the expedition of M. de Tilly into Chesapeake Bay the commanders on land and sea held a council of war, where it was decided, that the entire fleet with 1500 French troopers, 2 guns of 12, - 4 of 4 and 2 howitzers, commanded by Baron de Viomenil would go and take possession of Chesapeake Bay, and go down in Virginia and attack Arnold the traitor who was in command of 1200 Englishmen.

The Marquis de LaFayette was going there also with 1500 American troopers, with artillery and war provisions, food and all kinds of supplies.

On March 26th the fleet set sail, but within sight of the Capes they met the enemy's fleet which, contrary to our expectation, was slightly stronger than ours. The fight began, and was very keen, the *Conquerant* one of our vessels was badly treated having to fight 2 enemy's vessels. One of theirs, the *Robust* was put out of order. The enemy was master of the wind, they entered the bay and our fleet seeing no possible gain by resuming the battle returned to Newport, where it entered on April 16th to our great surprise, as one can easily imagine, we could not believe that it was our army. Some time before we had had the visit of General Washington, whom we honored as we would a Marshal of France. General Washington is 5 feet 10 inches tall of beautiful features, his face is fine and modest although cold, it carries an impression of sweetness and affability, his uniform is very simple, without adornment. He answered our politeness in a perfect manner. Our generals gave feasts and balls, where he danced with everybody indiscriminately He was esteemed and honored even by his enemies. His justice, his kindness and his courage in the misfortunes he had, being at the head of his army, made him still more cherished and respected by his subordinates.

The confidence that people had in him added still more to the glory he had acquired at various occasions, where he displayed his military talents for the sake of his country. He sacrificed all of his fortune to support the American liberty. Today he enjoys peacefully the results of his works. He was and is still admired by all Europe because of the unselfishness he used in freeing his country. In doing that he gave satisfaction to his heart which inspired him with the burning desire of being useful to his country.

On his arrival the city was beautifully illuminated. He spent 8 days at Newport, during that time, the plans of campaign were made and soon begun.

Then the news was circulated that the French army was going to join that of Americans encamped at White Plains near N. Y. We received orders to send all our belongings to Providence, a city on the continent, and to keep with us only our camping outfit. In fact, on June 10th the order was given to depart on the following day in 2 divisions. They put the troops in small boats which went up the river to Providence. Several of these little boats were stranded, so most of the troops had to pass the night in small boats. Most of the men were without food. It was only on the following day, with the tide's help, that these boats could go up the river.

All troops disembarked on the 12th, and went to camp in front of Providence, where the army remained several days. Providence is rather a pretty city, the suburbs are charming because of the different landscapes. This city seems almost deserted, con-

Note: M. de Choisy remained at Newport with a detachment of 600 men and 1000 American troopers to guard the King's fleet, then commanded by Mr. de Caras, One company and a quarter of artillery remained there for the batteries' service, these batteries being kept armed because of the fleet.

sequently there is very little business, the houses are like those in Newport, built of wood, but there are no pavements in the streets, the air is pure and healthy. One cannot see anything interesting except a splendid hospital placed in a very good location.

During our sojourn in Providence, a convoy escorted by the *Sagitaire* of 50 guns arrived at Boston. All the vessels after having moored in the roadstead were obliged by a strong wind to put out to sea. Within a few days they were all back, with the exception of the *Stanislas*, a transport of 600 tons which was taken to Halifax. The convoy brought us 2 companies of artillery, some recruits and ammunitions of all kinds.

They sent a detachment of the army from Providence to lead the recruits and to escort the treasure, on their return the date of the departure was set for June 18th.

We marched 4 divisions, each regiment formed 1 division which departed successively one after another. The Lauzun's Legion formed the vanguard. The artillery was also divided into 4 parts which were incorporated in each division, and who had a certain number of carriages following them. As I was in the 1st division I am going to follow its march in this Journal. Here they count by "mile" as in England, 3 miles make a good French league.

On the 18.—15 miles, 24 kilometers.—The army went from Providence to Waterman Tavern, very bad roads, the artillery arrived at 11 P. M. The troops did not march well, which always happens during the first days of route.

On the 19th.—15 miles.—24 kilometers.—From Waterman Tavern to Plainfield, very bad roads, the artillery and its equipments arrived very late. One can see at this place a beautiful position for a camp of 12 or 15 hundred men, it is outside of the village, about one mile and a half coming from Providence.

* * * * * * *

We remained 4 days at Hartford, The artillery marched in one column only. We arrived at Providence on November 9th. It is impossible to express the evils we felt to have to camp in a country where cold was very keen. We were frozen in our tents. When we wanted to fold our tents, we had a hard time, they stood without need of any support, one can judge how cold the weather was. Being in Providence, I had nothing to do to prevent me from going to see my old friends in Newport, Ι found that city well deserted, but on another hand, some faces were delighted in seeing Frenchmen again. I stayed 3 days in that city with much satisfaction, it is perhaps the only city where the French received so many marks of friendship from Americans. I confess that I left Newport with deep regret¹ but we had to depart for Boston, so I returned to Providence. We left on the 16th leaving the infantry in barracks, 3 miles from Providence. As the squadron of M. de Vaudreuil was not vet ready, we were obliged to put troops in the barracks. The artillery departed first because of the big quantity of things it has to embark.

Early Life of Roger Williams

The researches of recent years have added considerable data to our knowledge of Roger Williams' early life and ancestry. It has therefore seemed desirable to summarize this information.

Roger Stokes of the borough of St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, mercer, in his will in 1573 left 20 shillings to his cousin, Roger Pemberton, and made his brother-in-law, Robert Pemberton, an overseer of his will and gave him a black gown of the value of eight shillings a yard. *Cousin* in those days means what the word *nephew* means to-day, so that Roger Stokes' nephew, namesake and presumably godson, was Roger Pemberton, son of his sister, Katherine Stokes, who was the wife of Robert Pemberton. This Roger Pemberton of St. Albans died in 1627, leaving a legacy of ten pounds to his nephew and godson, Roger

¹It is in Newport that I learned the English language, during the 10 months of our stay there. The regrets I confess here are very natural. I left a charming country, amiable friends, to go in a wild and extremely hot country.— But Such is military life!

Williams. His sister, Alice Pemberton, was baptized Feb. 18, 1564, and married James Williams of London, citizen and merchant tailor. The Williams lived in the parish of St. Sepulchres without Newgate, London, in a dwelling house that they owned in Cow Lane, as the street is still called to this day. It is in that part of London known as Snowhill, without Newgate.

James Williams died in the autumn of 1621, leaving bequests to his wife and four children: Sydrack, Robert, Roger and Katherine, the wife of Ralph Wightman, and also several bequests to charity. Roger was born about 1605, doubtless in the Williams' home on Cow Lane and spent his boyhood playing about London suburbs, within and without Newgate, on Snow Hill and at Smithfield. In 1617 he received a legacy of 20 shillings from Margery Pate, widow, of the parish of St. Sepulchres. This is the earliest contemporary reference to Roger Williams that has yet been found. At this time he was about twelve years old. The records of the Church of St. Sepulchres were burnt, so that there is no record left of the early baptisms in that church.

As a youth in London, Roger Williams took up the study of shorthand and became a skilled stenographer, taking in shorthand sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber. These he would transcribe in long hand and present to Sir Edward Coke, who took such a liking to "so hopeful a youth" that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital, as the Charter House School was then called, to complete his education. This school was not far from the Williams' home.

Morgan Edwards relates that "Sir Edward, one day observing a youth at church taking notes of the sermon, and the people crowding, beckoned to him to come to his pew; and seeing how judiciously he minuted down the striking sentiments of the preacher, was so pleased that he entreated the parents to let him have the lad." Waters suggests that Roger Williams may have obtained access to the Star Chamber through his father's acquaintance with Henry Lyde, but this supposition seems unnecessary when it appears that Williams and Sir Edward Coke attended the same church and became acquainted in that way. Through the influence of Sir Edward Coke, Roger Williams was elected a scholar of the Charter House School on June 25, 1621, and continued a student there until 1623. On June 29, 1623, he was registered at Pembroke College, Cambridge, receiving an annual "pension" or scholarship of £16 per year from the Charter House School, while at college. He matriculated July 7, 1624, signed the Subscription Book in 1626 and received the degree of B.A. in January 1626/7. He continued a post graduate student for two years, presumably specializing in theology. It is possible that he took up the study of law under Sir Edward Coke, as Edwards states, but it seems more probable that Edwards' statement to that effect was a presumption on his part based on the fact of Coke's interest in Williams.

In 1628, after leaving college, Williams became Chaplain to Sir William Masham at his estate of Otes, in the parish of High Laver, Essex. As far as we know, this was his first office in the ministry. It is of course possible that he may have had a parish for a short time.

At Otes Roger Williams became acquainted with the various members of Lady Masham's family, many of whom were destined to play a great part in the affairs of England in later years. Her mother was Lady Joan Barrington, widow of Sir Francis Barrington and daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell. Two letters from Roger Williams to this lady are extant. Oliver Cromwell, "the Protector," "Ship-Money" John Hampden, immortalized by Gray in his Elegy, and Edward Whalley, the regicide, then but promising young men, were Lady Masham's cousins. Whalley's daughter, Frances, later became the wife of William Goffe, the regicide. Lady Masham's brother, Sir Thomas Barrington, and her husband were, a decade and a half later, to sign the famous letter giving Roger Williams free passage through Massachusetts. Sir Thomas' wife, Lady Judith Barrington, had the honor of having Point Judith, Rhode Island, named after her and received a presentation copy of Roger Williams' "Key," which interesting volume is still extant. Joan Althem, nicknamed "Jug," was Lady Masham's daughter by

her first husband and later became the wife of Chief Justice St. John.

Roger Williams thus became acquainted with these young men who were later to shape England's future, and the friendship that he, as a young clergyman, won among these young landed gentry proved of great benefit to the infant colony in its struggle with the imperialistic ideas of its more powerful neighbors.

Among those whom Roger Williams met, while Chaplain at Otes, was Jane Whalley, Lady Masham's charming cousin. Roger became very much interested in her and made frequent visits to Hatfield Priory, where Jane lived under the guardianship of her aunt, Lady Barrington. Interest ripened into love and Jane reciprocated Roger's feelings. The love affair became the talk of the neighborhood gossips and Roger seems to have been requested to cease calling at the Priory. Complying with this request, he sent a letter, which he quaintly calls his "paper deputie," to Lady Barrington, asking her niece's hand in marriage. Lady Barrington replied in plain and unmistakable terms. On May 2, 1629, Roger wrote a second letter to Lady Barrington in which he accepts her irrevocable decision against the marriage. Carpenter suggests that Williams immediately left his living at Otes, but this is not at all certain.

However, it would appear that he soon gave up all thought of Jane and found consolation elsewhere. Jane's cousin, "Jug" Althem, Lady Masham's eldest daughter, had a "maid," or lady in waiting, named Mary Barnard, to whom the disappointed lover was attracted. This friendship rapidly developed into love and their engagement is mentioned in one of Lady Masham's letters written in the autumn of 1629.

Roger Williams and Mary Barnard were married at High Laver, Essex, on Monday, December 15, 1629. Williams is styled "clarke" in the record, a term signifying in those days a clergyman.

When Williams gave up his chaplaincy at Otes, we do not know, but it seems probable that he left it shortly after May, 1629, and doubtless obtained a small parish church somewhere. In his first letter to Lady Barrington, Williams mentions "Many former offers to that New England call, I have since had two several livings preferred to me each of them 100£ per annum;"

It is quite likely that he obtained a parish in Lincolnshire, near Boston or Sempringham, for he mentions discussing the prayer book with Master Cotton and Master Hooker while riding "to and from Sempringham." It is possible of course that he held such a parish before going to Otes. Morgan Edwards states that it was through Sir Edward Coke's influence that Roger Williams "got Episcopal orders and a parish." Williams may have obtained a parish near Sempringham either before or after his chaplaincy at Otes, or he may have ridden "to and from Sempringham" on but one occasion, and not several times, as most writers have interpreted the meaning of this passage.

Roger Williams, accompanied by his wife, went from London or some place in eastern England to Bristol late in the year 1630. Williams wrote of this journey, "My much honored friend, that man of honor and wisdom and piety, your dear father [Sir Edward Coke] was often pleased to call me his son: and truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church and ceremonies and bishops, beyond the conscience of your dear father. I say it was as bitter as death to me, when I rode Windsorway, to take ship at Bristow and saw Stoke House, where the blessed man was, and I durst not acquaint him with my conscience and my flight."

The Williams embarked at Bristol on the ship Lyon, Capt. Pierce, which sailed on Dec. 1, 1630, and after a stormy voyage of 65 days anchored at Nantasket in Boston Harbor on Feb. 5, 1630/1.

Hubbard mentions Williams as "of good account in England for a godly and zealous preacher." Williams is one of the few persons whose arrival in New England, Governor Winthrop considered of enough importance to mention in his diary.

Jane Whalley, also seems to have recovered from her love affair, for she married Rev. William Hooke, and came to New

England with him. He was pastor at Taunton, Massachusetts, from 1639 to 1644.

Note

The preceding account is a summary of what is known of the early life of Roger Williams, previous to his arrival in New England. It is drawn from the various sources listed below.

Manuscript abstracts of wills given to R. I. H. S. by G. Andrews Moriarty, Jr.

Manuscript transcripts of Williams vs. Williams, suit in Chancery, 1644, given to R. I. H. S. by Walter F. Angell, cf. Rider's "Book Notes" XXIX, pp. 81 and 89, XXX, pp. 65 and 75.

Morgan Edwards' manuscript, "History of the Baptists," in R. I. H. S. Library. Printed in R. I. H. S. Coll. VI, p. 302.

Letters of Roger Williams and Lady Masham. Photostats in R. I. H. S. Library. Printed in N. E. H. & G. R. XLIII, p. 315; Edmund J. Carpenter's "Roger Williams," and R. I. H. S. Coll. XI, p. 122.

Narragansett Club Publications, especially IV, p. 65 and VI, p. 239.

R. I. H. S. Coll. XIII, p. 103, and XV, p. 64.

N. E. H. & G. R. XLV, p. 70, and LIII, p. 63.

Oscar Straus' "Roger Williams."

Henry F. Waters' "Genealogical Gleanings in England."



Seal used by Roger Williams

List of Vessels Paying Fort Tax at Newport in 1744 and 1745

The General Assembly of Rhode Island in January, 1704, considering the cost to the colony of the building and upkeep of the fort recently erected on Fort Island (Goat Island) in Newport Harbor, voted to assess 12 pence per ton, or one pound of powder per ton, on each vessel of over 10 tons that entered the port of Newport, excepting vessels wholly owned in the colony.

This act was modified in October, 1732, when the Assembly reduced the tax to 6 pence or one-sixth pound of powder per ton, excepted from its provisions fishing vessels, and permitted coasters to pay only one assessment per year. Sometime before 1744 the tax was again changed, vessels from foreign ports being assessed 6 pence per ton, and coastwise vessels 3 pence per ton, coasters being taxed for each voyage separately instead of merely once a year. The list of vessels paying this tax for the fiscal year June, 1744, to May, 1745, is given below.

VESSELS FROM FOREIGN PORTS ENTERED AT NEWPORT

Dai	te			
1744		Master	Rig and Name	Tons
June	20	Wm. Brown	Sloop Griffin	25
	26	Thos. Wilkinson	Sloop Victory	40
	30	Obadh Brown	Schooner Ranger	60
July	5	John Collins	Snow Phoenix	90
	18	Wm. Shearman	Schooner Non Paril	30
	23	James Cahoone	Sloop Tryall	25
	"'	Wm. Hookey	Sloop Lyon	50
	" "	Zaban Potter	BrigaSea Flower	40
	66	Henry Taggart	Sloop Recruit	20
	26	Wm Stoddard	Sloop Beaver	35
	66	Benja Nichols	Briga Marygold	45
Aug.	3	John Joy	" Little Joseph	60
	13	Jno Bristow	" Phoenix	50
	17	John Gibbs	Sloop Endeavour	25
	21	Wm Cooke	Sloop Success	40

Date

		VESSELS PAYING	FORT TAX AT NEWPORT	85
		Master	Rig and Name	Tons
Aug.	28	Henry Harramond	Schooner Good Intent	25
Ŭ	29	George Parris	Sloop Luckey Nancey	30
Sept.	3	Peter Gibbs	Sloop Dove	35
•	66	Nathn Saltonstall	Sloop Black Joak	15
	"	Edwd Carleton	Sloop Greyhound	34
	5	Dudley Hilton	Sloop Olivebranch	30
Oct.	9	Charles Bardin	Briga Victory	60
	15	Jno Goddard	Sloop Dove	40
	66	Josh Blevin	Sloop Mary	20
	24	Jona Stanton	Sloop Phoenix	40
	27	Thos. Borden	Schooner Geraldus	40
Oct.	31	Caleb Godfrey	Sloop Abigail	35
Nov.	8	John Cockram	Schooner Ann	50
	**	Randal Eldred	Schooner Rover	35
	10	Thos Wilcocks	Brigg Sea Flower	40
	26	Jno Robinson	Snow Jolly Batchelor	30
	29	Francis Pope	Briga Little Bettey	20
	**	Laban Potter	Schooner Pamela	30
	30	Anthony Field	" Mayflower	40
Decem	r 6	John Bragg	Sloop Seaflower	50
	26	John Bennett	Sloop Dove	30
Janry	5	Danll Robins	Schooner Diamond	50
	7	Esek Hopkins	Schooner Ranger	60
	66	Dudley Hilton	Sloop Olivebranch	30
	11	Thos Oliver	Brigga Industry	50
Febry	5	Jona Rogers	Brigga Neptune	50
1745	5			
March	18	Resolvd Waterman	Sloop Rotterdam	20
	66	David Conyers	Sloop March	20
	26	Pollipus Hamond	Brig Success	50
	27	Jams Holmes	" Endeavour	50
	28	Wm Richards	" Providence	50
	30	Wm Martin	Sloop Endeavour	25
April	15	Silas Cooke	Schooner Ranger	35
	18	Wm Shearman	" Non Paril	30
	6.6	Benja James	Sloop Black Prince	30
	29	Jams Tucker	Sloop Ranger	40
May	2	Ebenzr Clark	Sloop Sarah	40
	4	Charles Feild	Sloop Victory	25

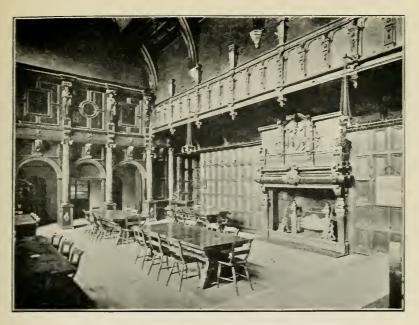
COASTERS ENTERED AT NEWPORT

1744		Master	Rig and Name	Tons
June	20	Ebenzr Hill	Sloop Molly	12
June	21	Archibald Smith	" Abram & Eliza	35
	22	Abner Coffin	" Molly	45
	23	John Morris	" Fox	5
	25	Isaac Bush	" Sea Flower	4
	"	Josh Compton	" Mary	15
	26	Saml Grover	" Dolphin	16
	27	Aaron Van Cleave	" Tiverton	35
	28	Lawrance Anderson	Schooner Deborah	45
	30	Peter Harris	Sloop Norwick	18
July	2	Howard Henderson	" Abigail	70
5 5	4	Phineas Bardwin	Schooner Fancy	10
		David Childs	Sloop Speedwell	10
	66	Samll Smith	" Lucretia	30
	10	John Taylor	" Phebe	16
	44	Mathias Hull	" Dolphin	16
	"	Soloman Davis	" Charmg Betty	12
	11	Clother Peirce	Schooner Swansey	40
	64	Jona Smith	Sloop Cape May	20
	12	Samll Barker	" Eliza	10
	16	Charles Whitefield	" Ranger	30
	4.6	Paul Hartford	" 3 Brothers	40
	17	Israel Higgins	" Speedwell	15
	18	Jere Eddy	" Sarah & Esther	30
	44	Nicholas Cook	" Dolphin	30
	19	Christr Bennett	" Ranger	26
	44	Mosses de St. Croix	" Susannah	25
	23	Archibald Smith	" Abram & Eliza	35
July	26	John Sadler	Sloop Abigail	15
	2 8	Thos. Millet Junr	" Hannah	50
	31	John Willard	" Sea Flower	15
	46	Josiah Parsons	" Molly	10
Aug.	1	Gabriel Wayne	Brigga Jno & Wm.	80
	3	Nathan Simmons	Sloop Rebecca	
	66	Richd Anthony	" Swan	40
	6	Joshua Doane	Schooner Mary & Ruth	18
	66	Lewis Guest	" Brunswick Swallow	20
	13	Thos Roberts	Sloop Success	40
	21	Nathan Winchester	" Swallow	5

Date

		VESSELS PAYING FOR	AT TAX AT NEWPORT	87
		Master	Rig and Name	Tons
Aug.	21	John Willard	Sloop Sea Flower	15
	24	John Story	" Ranger	6
	25	John Clark	" John	10
	27	Michael Griswold	" Susannah	20
	28	Benja L'hommediere	" Endeavour	30
	44	John Hull	" Rainbow	10
	"	Andrew Langworthy	" Abigail	15
Sept.	3	Josh Higgins	" Dove	20
	"	Lewis Guest	Schooner Brunk Swallow	20
	""	Mathias Hull	Sloop Dolphin	16
	7	Joshua Almy	" Susannah	15
	"	Wm Griffin	" Good Intent	20
	13	Peleg Shearman	" Tryall	20
	14	Howard Henderson	" Abigail	70
	18	Daniel Servate	ee ee	15
	66	Henry Dunban	" Rotterdam	20
	26	Jacobus Keirsted	" Thos. & John	25
	"	Wm Bagly	" Susannah	35
	27	Ebenzr Hull	Sloop Molly	12
	"	Benja Hatch	Schooner Mary & Ruth	18
	29	Samuel Barker	Sloop Eliza	10
Oct.	1	Thos Disbrow	" Charmg Molly	50
	5	Joshua Cook	" Dolphin	20
	8	John Willard	" Sea Flower	15
	9	Lewis Guest	Schooner B. Swallow	20
	12	Bailey Evans	Sloop Eliza	25
	15	Benja Nichols	" Ranger	20
	**	Joshua Bangs	Schooner Mary	10
	66	Joseph Cox	" Tryall	20
	22	Mosses Godfrey	" Dove	15
	24	Edmund Ward	Sloop Sea Flower	40
	66	Wm Crillin	" Good Intent	20
	66	Mathias Hull	" Dolphin	16
	26	Thos Buttler	" Falmouth	25
	66	John Clark	" John	10
	29	Soloman Davis	" Charmg Mary	12
	30	Walter Simonton	" Susannah	50
Nov.	1	Samll Barker	" Eliza	10
	2	Andrew Langworthy	" Susannah	15
	7	Huxford Merchant	" Greyhound	30
	"	Howard Henderson	" Abigail	70
	8	Crawford Conner	" Little Molly	20
	10	Lewis Guest	Schooner Brunk Swallow	20
	12	George Cortis	Sloop Swan	30

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		Master	Rig and Name	Tons
Nov.	14	Thos Barnes	Sloop Fire Ball	20
	6 6	Samll Milles	" 3 Friends	40
	19	Mosses Godfrey	Schooner Dove	15
	23	-	Sloop Radner Gally	10
		Peleg Shearman	" Tryall	20
	26	Samll Marshall	" Success	26
		Wm Crillin	" Good Intent	20
	27	John Perry	" Rainger	20
	30	Simeon Newton	" Victory	16
Dec.	3	Nicholas Canner	" Carthegena	20
Dec.		Paul Hartford	" 3 Friends	40
	5	Nathll Chapman	" Virgin	30
	7	Uriah Hosmere	" Dolphin	15
	14	Mosses Peirce	" Molly	18
	15	Thos. Colwell	" Patience	12
	17	Saml Bennett	" Beaver	33
	21	Jeremiah Eddy	" Sarah & Esther	30
	26	Ephriam Peirce	" Mary & Eliza	30
	31	James Jordan	Schooner Breeze	25
τ		Wm Brown	Sloop Griffin	30
Janry	3	Samll Squire	" Lilly	30
	5		" Diamond	30
	14	James Craig	Diamond	30 16
	21	Simeon Newton	" Victory	10
	28 "	Mosses Peirce	Mony	
-		Wm Warner	ALOHY	20
Febry	9	Archelaus Hammond	Liydli	30
	11	Wm Guest	Schooner B. Swallow	20
March	5	John Brown	Sloop Charmg Mary	12
		Peregrine Van Emburgh	" Patience	12
	12	John Rouse	Sloop Sarah	15
	"	George Parris	Lucky Mancy	30
	18	John Holden	" Charmg Sally	15
	66	Thos Wright	Schooner Mary	90
	21	John Burroughs	Sloop Swan	5
	65	James Jones	" Fickle Town	10
1745				
	25	Robert Durfey	" Endeavour	20
	56	Samuel Marshall	" Success	26
	66	Edward Rooke	" Rachel	13
	26	Samll Tillinghast	Brigga Hellen	30
	28	John Brooks	Sloop Rainger	20
April	1	Simeon Luther	" Paitient Job	10
	6.6	Wm Warner	" Mary	20
	6.6	Wm Guest	Schooner B. Swallow	20



Interior of Charter House School, London, England Courtesy of Providence Magazine



CHURCH OF ST SEPULCHRE, LONDON Roger Williams' parents were members of this parish



PEMBROKE COLLEGE Cambridge, England, where Roger Williams went to college



Church at High Laver, Essex, England where Roger Williams and Mary Barnard were married

		A LEAF FROM	A LOST DIARY	89
		Master	Rig and Name	Tons
Apr.	3	Phoenias Baldwin	Schooner Fancy	10
	15	Mosses Peirce	Sloop Molly	18
	17	John Case	" Promis & Willm	12
	19	John Clark	" John	10
	20	James Jordan	Schooner Breeze	25
	**	Benja Ingraham	Sloop Dove	30
	22	John Hull	" Rainbow	10
	23	Peleg Shearman	" Tryall	20
	25	Bailey Evans	" Eliza	25
	27	Howard Henderson	" Success	30
May	2	Morris Hobbs	" Abram & Eliza	35
	4	Peter Harris	" Dove	15
	7	Joseph Fancher	" Good Intent	16

(From original manuscript in Rhode Island State Archives.)

A Leaf from A Lost Diary

April, 1743:-

1. Wind about E. N. E. and snows, this morning, Began last night in ye night. It was about 2 or 3 Inches thick this morning, on ye ground But Goes away fast, ye ground being wett.—Moderate weather ye—blows but very moderately.

2nd. Wind Westerly and Northerly Dark Thick & snow. In ye forenoon Eden Clarke arrived from No Carolina.

3d. Wind Westerly and got to S. W. It was a fine morning But ye afternoon Began to look like mire Dirt.

4th. Wind Northerly and Dark weather John Clarke arrived from Maryland & Thomas Eldred from St. Eustius, ye wind southerly afternoon.

5. Wind N N W and N W and a cool morning for ye season of ye year It froze last night. It has been a very cold day for ye season.

6. Wind N W & W N W In ye morning a cold for ye season froze Last night Jo Powers Sailed for some of ye wine¹ Islands.

7. Wind East & Blew exceeding hard storm It got Round

¹Windward Islands.

to N W In ye afternoon & Clear. The storm began to abate about 7 Clock In ye morning.

8. Wind West S West In ye morning Early and-got to W N W.

9. Wind Southerly a Small Breeze and—weather Wm. Almy and Vars sailed came Back again.

10. Wind S. W. and Blew a fresh Breeze.

11. Wind S W and blew a fresh Breeze several yorkers arrived.

12. Wind South & Blew hard & Rained all Day Cook Jr Jona Nichols schooner arrived from Guadaloupe Charles Tillinghast died suddenly.

13. Wind Northerly & Vars sailed. In ye afternoon wind Southerly.

14. Wind N W, Vernon's ship sailed for Carolina a Snow arrived from Lisbon of James Griffins of Boston who entered here. Wilkinsons Schooner¹ from Privateering from Providence Last Nathan Bull came Passenger Left His Brign a Sloop² arrived a Prize of Cap Allen.

15. Wind S W. a Good fresh Breeze Gallowee & a Burmudian sloop arrived went under Cononicut & several Coasters arrived Had an acc'ct. of Ob'h. Browns sloop arriving at Nantaskett.

16. Wind S W. In ye morning & about 11 Clock Got to W N W & N W & Looks squally But cleared away again and was pleas't Weather Jacob Long sailed for So. Carolina.

(Reprinted from Newport Mercury, April 5, 1851.)

Newport Town House Attached for Debt

On September 5, 1643, Jeremy Clarke brought action against the Town of Newport for arrears of money due to him. The case was heard by the Aquidneck Quarter Court then sitting at Portsmouth and an attachment was granted and served upon the

¹Fame.

²San José.

"Publick house of the sd Towne" of Newport, twenty pounds damage being allowed "if the Towne satisfie not by next Court then judgment to be granted." The next Court was held on Dec. 3, 1643, and as there is no mention of this case in the records of that Court, it would seem probable that the Town of Newport paid the debt before December. (Cf. Doc. Hist. of R. I. vol. 2.)

Will of John Williams, 1768

(Contributed by Mr. G. A. Taylor of Boston.)

"The Probate of the Will of John Williams of Newport, in Rhode Island and Admion granted thereon to the Wife Executrix and his son Executr in the said Will named.

"Sir Edmund Andros"-etc. "To all to whom this shall come as may concern greeting"

"Know ye that in the Five and Twentieth day of October—One thousand six hundred eighty seaven before me Francis Brinley Esq Judge of the Inferiour Court of Comon Pleas for Rhode Island etc. and Coll Peleg Sanford and Caleb Carr Esq. two of his Maties Justices of the Peace in Newport in the Island aforesaid within the Dominion aforesaid the Will of John Williams, late of Newport "etc. "Administracion "etc," comitted into his wife the Extrix and his son," and "truly to administer the same and to make," etc" "Inventory"—etc. Dated the Two and twentieth day of June Ann Dni: One thousand Six hundred Eighty Eight.

"In the Name of God Amen I John Williams of Newport in Rhode Island being very weak in body," etc.

"Imprimis - - - My Will is that - - - my Wife shall enjoy the benefit of my whole estate during her Widdowhood and if she marry to have her Thirds—"

"Item—I give to my son Nathaniel as his Portion my house and Lands at Boston and Fort Island at Block Island and my Warehouse at Block Island."

"Item-I give to my Daughter Mary all my land at Assabath

River according to a Division made between my Brother in Law Mr. Zachariah Whitman of Hull and to be as her portion."

"Item-I give and bequeath to my Son Palsgrove my Daughter Ann and my Daughter Elizabeth my Daughter Anabella and the 'expected child' all the rest of my Estate both p'sonal and real to be equally divided amongst them."

"Item-my mind and Will is that the Church Mr. Hiscox belongs to, enjoy"-"the meeting house as long as my heirs enjoy the ground-"

"Lastly I make my beloved Wife my Executrix and my son Nathaniel when he comes of Age Executr." "Also I make my beloved Friend Mr. Robert Gattridge my Executr in trust till my Son come of Age and desire my brother Nathaniel Williams of Boston and Mr. Thomas Ward of Rhode Island to be my Overseers to see my Will performed"-etc.

"hand and seal this Eighteenth day of April One thousand six hundred Eighty seaven-" etc.

"signed JOHN WILLIAMS and sealed

"signed and sealed in prsence of WILLIAM HISCOX, CHRIS-TOPHER HARGEL"

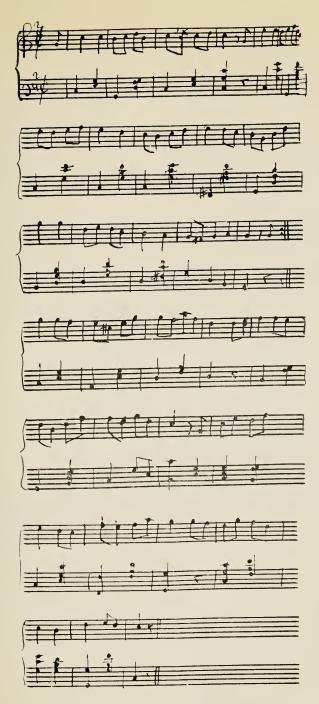
"As and Addition to my Will my mind and Will is that Hanne and Pegge serve their Mistris eight year a piece and then be free and that Zippera serve my Daughter Anna till she is Thirty year old and then she to be free Dated Eighteenth April signed JNO. WILLIAMS-prsence of CHRISTOPHER HARGEL WILLIAM Hiscox—" "Examined

per John West

D. Sery."

"William Hiscox and Christopher Hargel both of Newport in Rhode Island appeared before me Francis Brinley Esq Judge of the Inferiour Court of Comon Pleas for Rhode Island etc and Lt Coll Peleg Sandford and Caleb Carr Esq two of his Maties Justices of the Peace the 25th day of October 1687 in Newport aforesaid" etc. FRANCIS BRINLEY

THOMAS WARD Clerke"



THE RHODE ISLAND MARCH as played by the Rhode Island Regiments during the Revolution

From original in the library of Col. George L. Shepley



The barque Orphan of Providence, Captain John Edmonds (see page 20) From a painting in the possession of Mrs. John G. Edmonds

The Inventory of John Williams's Estate [in part]

May 6th 1687

"1 Silver Tankard & 2 Cups, one Watch £20-10-0

New England 3£-2/8-Spanish money 3-8/9

4 yds 3/4 Plush 2 1/8, 4 Neckclothes 6/8, silk 2 lb 5/8

17 Small Looking glasses 7/8, 5 pcs of Taffeta Rib £2

6 Wrought Chaires, 2 wrought stools 7-10, 1 Cupboard 1 lb

2 pair of Callico window curtains 7 lb, 4 pr Courte sheets £1-10

"10 Pewter dishes 2 lb, 2 doz plates £1, 2 candlesticks 5/8, 1 flagon 3/8

2 gold rings small 11s—etc

"A pair of Stilliards sheep sheers and Parrot Cage=1-0-0

2 Guns 2 lb, 2 Swords & belt 15/8, etc.

"about 55 books great and small £6, a baskit 5s, 3 Saddles, 3 bridles £1-10s

"Lumber 10s, 3 Indians 16 lb=16-10-0

70 Sheep @ 5 s each 17-10-0

1 Cow 2 lb=5s, 2 horses 5 lb

A cart & Geers 1-0-0

5/16 of ye Brigandine Anna & Mary £90-0-0

[Total] £273-17-4

[signed] JOHN WOODMAN WILLIAM HISCOX

At-Block Island als Newshorum

In Keeping of Josias Heling 20 Sheep

In Keeping of Nathan Niles 20 Sheep

In Keeping of John Mott 20 Sheep

In Keeping of the executr of Tho Mitchel 20 Sheep Running on said Island 20 Sheep

being in all 100 Sheep apprized at $\pm 17-10-0$ "4 Horses now brought to Newport at A mare 3-00-0 A List of Debts out standing at Block Island

2-00-0

A Cow at Prudence

Total 393-00-6

John Woodman William Hiscox

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

New Shorum Sept 1687

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An Inventory of an Estate Mr. John Williams of Newport was possessed off at New Shorum at his decease is as followeth—

	£sd
Due from Edward Ball	7-8-7
Due from John Daudg	6-8-0
Simon Pulling	19-11
John Mott	9-0-0
Nathaniel Winslow	4-0-0
George Langley	1-9-5
Nathaniel Mott	5-0-0
John Nils	1-10- 0
Daniel Tosh	3-10- 0
John Gunnel	15-9
Tristram Daudge	18-2
John Acres	3-10- 0
T. Dauges bills	33- 0- 0
The Ware-house & fort is land apprized by	
Nathaniel Nils Edward Bull at	£10
To one hundred sheep in Mr. Guttrigs custody	25
To one Mare-Mr. Guttridge custody	3
To a piece of Stuff at	1-10- 0
	117-10-10

Mr. Robert Guttridge one of the executr to the Estate of the late Mr. John Williams deceased prionally appeared before me and attested the above written to be a true accompt according to the best of his Knowledg.

Teken before me

SIMON RAYE Justic of peace

Debts which cannot be expe	ected any benefit off
Due from William Harris	£12-6-0
Due from James Cornesh	6-17-0
	19-3-0
	0.00
To 41 of Powder	0-6-0

(Suffolk County Probate No. 1605.)

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. James H. Arthur Mr. Charles A. Calder Gov. William S. Flynn Mr. Arthur Duncan Greene Miss Eliza Taft Newton Mr. George A. Smith

Mr. E. E. Bowen of Boise, Idaho, has presented to the Society a very elaborate and extensive genealogical chart of his ancestors, many of whom lived in Rhode Island.

The History and Genealogy of the Banks Family in America has been given to the Society by Mrs. Frederick E. Shaw.

The Gowdy Genealogy is a gift from Hon. Mahlon W. Gowdy.

The Sherman Genealogy is a gift from Mr. Charles Pomeroy Sherman.

The manuscript Transfer Book of the Rawson Fountain Society has been deposited with the Society.

The manuscript record book belonging to Joseph Greene, former leader of the American Brass Band, has been given to the Society by the estate of Liberty B. Greene.

Col. H. Irving King has presented to the Society the cane formerly owned by Randall Holden, one of the founders of Warwick. The cane is marked R. H.

A large oil portrait of Thomas W. Dorr has been given by Mrs. Benjamin Harris and Mr. Louis P. Tower.

The January Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society contains an article on the Banister family of Newport and the April Bulletin has an article on the Coddington Commission of 1651, together with a picture of the document, and also a paper on the Log of the Lawrence, 1813. A portrait of Thomas Goddard of Newport has been given to the Newport Historical Society.

The Mythical Isaac Sweet

The origin of the mythical Isaac Sweet, alleged progenitor of the family of Sweet of Rhode Island, is doubtless due to a misreading of an entry in the early court records.

Savage in his Genealogical Dictionary, in 1862, wrote in regard to James Sweet "call[ed] s. of Isaac, wh. prob. d. in Eng.," and in regard to John Sweet, "br. of James, prob. elder, perhaps brot. from Eng. by his mo. Mary, wid. of Isaac Sweet". James and John Sweet were the sons of John Sweet senior and Mary, his wife.

The following entry is in the records of the Court held at Portsmouth, R. I., on March 7, 1642-3, "An ac of the case come by Esek Holyman agst Isaac Allerton in acon of 2 years dependance upon Arreages of a purchase between the sd *Isaac and Mary Sweet* the wife of the sd Ezekiell the rest 4 Li 1 s a barr of mackrell find for the pl: damages 7 Li 1s: costs of the Court 24 s etc." The *Isaac*, it will be noted, refers to Isaac Allerton, not to an Isaac Sweet.

In justice to Savage, it should be said that he doubtless never saw this entry, the misinterpretation being that of some earlier genealogist. Savage's wording indeed shows that he copied these Sweet items from the work of others.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY Collections

Vol. XVI	October, 1923	No. 4
TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OFTIO RUINS OF OUEENS FOI AT NOETBELINGSTON BJ. Brawn for the Billion. Society		

LAN OF QUEENS FORT-drawn by Henry B. Hammond in November 1865.

The following wording is at the left of the plat: "N. B. The top of the plat is north or nearly so. T scale is 8 paces or $1\frac{1}{2}$ rods to the inch. What is called the Queen's Bed-Chamber is at the point mark "Q", but I consider it a recent construction.—H. B. H."

\$3.00 per year

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RHODE HISTORICAL



ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVIOctober, 1923No. 4

HOWARD W. PRESTON, President EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer GEORGE T. SPICER, Secretary HOWARD M. CHAPIN, Librarian

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Block Island "Double Ender"

By PAUL C. NICHOLSON

Deep sea fishing has been the mainstay of Block Island ever since its settlement by white men, and even as long ago as 1670 an Act was passed to erect a pier for "incouradging fishing designes." The Island lies in the Atlantic Ocean well off the south coast of Rhode Island, and as only few fish can be caught from the shore, it has always been necessary for the inhabitants to use boats for this industry.

More than a century ago the natives of Block Island adapted or designed an open fishing boat which had several remarkable features, and it seems advisable to record the few meagre details which are known regarding these craft before they are forgotten, and like the boat itself become practically extinct.

Although the beginnings of this type are lost in antiquity, it seems certain that the Block Island Double Ender was adapted or copied from the so-called "chebacco boats,"^o which were in common use for fishing in New England waters in the 18th and latter part of the 17th centuries, and the open double ender was used almost exclusively by the Block Island fishermen from at least 1750 and undoubtedly earlier, until 1870, when the construction of the breakwater harbor allowed the use of heavier vessels. After that date the design became modified,¹ decks and

"The Maritime History of Massachusetts," S. E. Morison, Boston, 1921:

"The typical Cape Ann fishing vessel of the Federalist period was a Chebacco boat (ancestor of the Down East pinkeys of to-day)—so called from the Chebacco parish of Ipswich where the type was invented and built. Double ended, 'pink' (sharp) sterned, rigged with two pole masts, stepped well forward so that no head sail was needed, and not over 30 feet long, the chebacco boats were easy to handle and rode the water like a duck."

"Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay used the lap streak, round bottomed whale boat and the Block Island or Vineyard sailboat, a fast, able, *flat* bottomed type with a Chebacco rig." (Evidently an error, as the Block Island boat was never flat bottomed. P. C. N.)

"The same types of vessel were used in mackerel as in cod fishing. Chebacco boats and 'heel tappers' were gradually superseded by pinkies an enlarged Chebacco boat with bowsprit and jib, measuring 20-60 tons. About 1830 a new type of square sterned schooners of 20-90 tons burthen came into use."

"In 1792 Cape Ann owned 133 Chebacco boats of 11 tons burthen on an average, and by 1804 the number had increased to 200 and the tonnage doubled."

¹Henry T. Beckwith, "History of Block Island," 1857 (Appendix 1873):

"Several new decked vessels have been purchased or are in the process of being built for the convenience of passengers and freight between here and the mainland."

^o"The Sailing Ships of New England," Salem, 1922:

[&]quot;Following the shallop, pinnace and sloop, eighteenth century New England built a great variety of one and two masted boats variously named and generally used in the fisheries."

[&]quot;The fishing pink after a time became known as a 'pinkey' and one form of the fishing pinkey in common use along the northern shore of Massachusetts Bay during the seventeenth century and also well into the next century, was the 'chebacco boat,' so called because it was first built at Chebacco, now the town of Essex. Sometimes called 'standing room' boats, they were from 10 to 12 tons burthen, had two masts, but no bowsprit. * * The deck had no railing, and the stern was sharp like the bow. * * The fishing pinkey and the chebacco boat doubtless closely resembled the 'two masted boat,' so called, of the first half of the seventeenth century."

even cabins were added to the boats, and the new harbor facilitated the use of cats, sloops and schooners² for fishing, until in 1893 there were but a few of the double enders left, and a few years later the last one had disappeared from Block Island waters. However, the remains or a small 21-foot double ender or "cow horn" may still be seen lying on the beach in a little cove on the south shore of the New Harbor. She is half full of sand, and weeds are growing through her opened seams, but her general form and rugged construction are well enough preserved to indicate the type of boat used by the island fishermen fifty or sixty years ago.

The coast of Block Island afforded very little shelter in the way of a harbor for boats, the only refuge being a small bight on the east side of the Island at which was located the "landing place." In this bight, which is sheltered from westerly and southerly winds, the double enders were kept, tied to stakes in fair weather, but light enough and so designed that the fishermen could hitch on a yoke of oxen and haul them high and dry on the beach in case of foul weather.³

There are three known models of so-called Block Island boats, one of the "Lena M" in the Peabody Museum, Salem, built by Mr. Horace Boucher in 1910.⁴ The "Lena M" was the last one of the double enders to be built, and the model shows the later development just before the boats went out of existence. A second model is in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington⁵ but is not representative of the earlier boats in that the aft mast and sail have been reduced as in the ketch rig, and the model

³Henry T. Beckwith, "History of Block Island," 1857:

"An island in the Atlantic, dependent much on deep sea fishing without a decked vessel is also remarkable. But there is a reason for these open schooner boats of Block Island. Its only harbor of refuge is the high and dry beach. The fishing vessels, therefore, must be light enough to be drawn quickly out of water."

⁴See "The Marine Room of the Peabody Museum of Salem," Salem, 1921.

⁵See "Motor Boat," January 25, 1923.

²The first fishing schooner owned at the island was the "Hattie Rebecca," 44 feet long, 15 tons burthen. She was brought to the Island September 4, 1875.

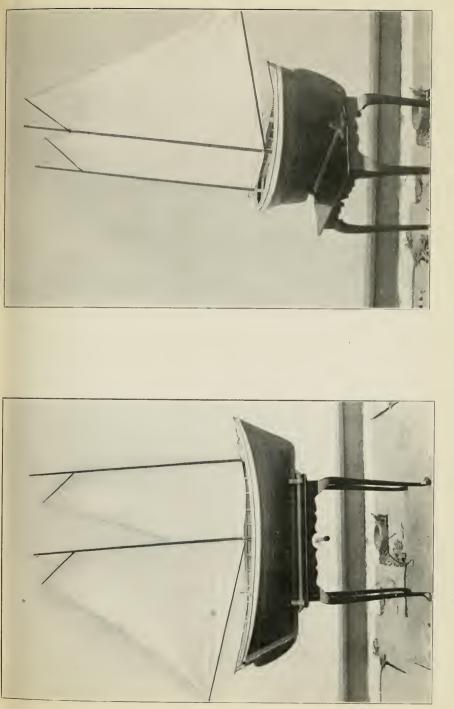
shows the narrow decks and combing typical of the later designs. The third model, which was built at the Island many years ago by Mr. Leslie H. Dodge, is in the author's collection, and appears to accurately show the characteristics of the open boats which were in general use at the Island before the "pole harbor"⁶ was superseded by what is now called the "old harbor."

The Block Island double ender was two masted, clinker built. or lap streaked, sharp at both ends and with a long straight keel. The bow and stern were high and the waist low, giving a pronounced sheer somewhat comparable to the modern lifeboat. Excepting for a short deck from the foremast to the stem and from the tiller rack to the stern, the boats were entirely open. When the weather became rough, the fishermen resorted to the use of wash boards, or lee boards as they were called, in order to raise the gunwales. These boards were six in number and were equipped with wooden pins which fitted into holes in the gunwales. The boats were steered by a long tiller, the head of which fitted over the rudder post and rested on a wooden pin so that it could be readily moved perpendicularly as well as horizontally. A comb of wooden pins arranged on the short afterdeck allowed the tiller to be left in any desired position so that all hands could fish or tend sail as the occasion required.

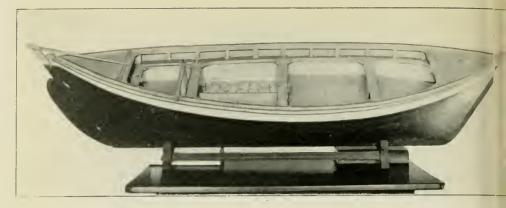
6"History of Block Island," S. T. Livermore, Hartford, 1877:

"The Pole Harbor, as it may be designated, was begun about the year 1816. A single individual, at low tide, near the shore end of the present breakwater, sunk a few spiles close to each other, about six feet deep, the upper parts of them rising above the water from ten to fifteen feet. To these he could tie up his boat in ordinary weather. Others followed his example, until long rows of such poles extended out into a considerable depth of water at high tide. * * * This construction was carried on for many years by so many of the islanders that a forest of oak poles became the principal harbor. * * * Thus matters went on * * * until the poles were over a thousand in number. After many had been removed for the present harbor, seven hundred and fifty are now standing in 1876 and are still of considerable service, in fair weather, to the fishermen."

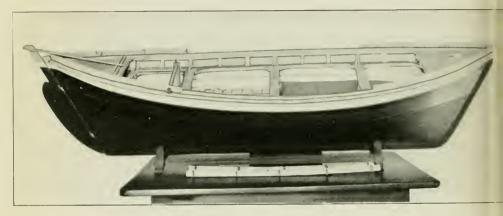
"The value of these fisheries is also indicated by the white oak poles, now standing at the harbor, put there for the convenience of the boats of the fishermen. They were a substitute for the old and the new piers which had been destroyed by a storm and as such they served until the construction of the present national harbor, inadequate as they were, leaving a necessity on the fishermen of turning out at midnight in a cold storm to yoke their oxen, go to the harbor, and haul their boats up on the bank for safety."



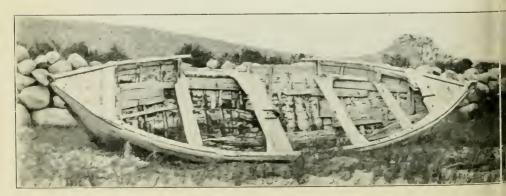
Model of Block Island double ender fishing boat of about 1860-built by LESLIE H. DODGE and owned by PAUL C. NICHOLSON.



Model of the Block Island boat showing interior arrangement and construction. In this mod says were used to indicate the ballast of rocks which the boats customarily carried.



Photograph of the model showing four of the six "lee boards" or wash boards in place. The reing two may be seen in the foreground on the table.



The last double ender.

As the boats had no weighted keel, it was necessary to ballast them, and rocks from the beach were used for this purpose. They could be readily shifted from side to side, and if enough fish were caught to act as ballast, the rocks were thrown overboard.⁷

Actual dimensions of the double enders are uncertain, but it has been established that they were built in lengths varying from sixteen to forty feet. Most of the boats were constructed on the Island, in Revolutionary times by John Rose, and later by Lemuel B. Rose. From 1850 to 1875 the principal builder was Deacon Sylvester D. Mitchell, who was the creator of many successful fishing boats, such as the "Active," "Dauntless," "Sappho," and the mail boat "Thomas Lynch," the latter which was about forty feet long by fourteen feet beam, being the largest of the fleet.

No blue-prints or drawings were used, and the vessels were built by the "cut and try" method. No two of the boats were exactly alike so that the dimensions can only be approximated. A boat 33 feet to 35 feet long would have a beam of from 12 feet to 13 feet and a draught of from 6 feet to 7 feet. It was general practice to build the keel and frames of oak and hackamatack and to make the planking of cedar, all of which were cut on the mainland and brought to the Island for the purpose.⁸

The rig consisted of two pole masts of the same height without shrouds or stays, the foremast being stepped well towards the bow and the mainmast nearly in the center of the boat. The

^{7&}quot;History of Block Island," S. T. Livermore, Hartford, 1877:

[&]quot;Far different is the scene in the afternoon, when one of the same boats after another struggles in, with wet and weary fishermen, with ballast of tons of stones thrown overboard to give place to hungry, and hunger-stopping codfish."

⁸The old double ender at the New Harbor was measured on August 24th, 1923, and found to be 21 feet over all, 8 feet beam, and to have three feet six inches draught. She was built of very heavy oak knees, ribs and thwarts, and planked with $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch cedar. At each end a short deck extended $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet towards the waist. Her six-inch oak keel was protected by an iron shoe which extended down the stem post and the entire length of the long straight keel.

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masts were supported against the deck or thwart by hinged iron cleats held by wooden pins so that they might be readily unshipped when the boats were hauled out on the shore.

But two sails were carried, as these boats were not fitted for head sails and had no bowsprit. Each sail was hoisted on rings or hoops and by a single halyard attached to a very short gaff. The mainsail was loose footed on a boom which extended out over the stern, while the foresail carried no boom but was simply sheeted aft on either side as might be required. Each sail was fitted with five rows of reef points.

Customarily the double enders were painted with green topsides, sometimes surmounted by a white band, while the underbody was always coated with "verdigris" paint to prevent the marine growths from accumulating and the worms from attacking the planking.

Long oars were carried and on the smaller boats a crew usually consisted of five men, so that in case of necessity in a calm four could row, two to an oar, while the fifth steered.

At the height of their use there were about fifty of the double enders engaged in fishing at Block Island, and their remarkable qualities as sailers and in a sea-way have been the cause of much comment.⁹

The building of the breakwaters at what is now called the "Old Harbor," allowed the introduction of heavier and deckedover vessels for fishing, and despite Mr. Livermore's prophecy in 1877 regarding the double enders, that "it is doubtful whether they will ever be superseded while the Island continues," cats,

⁹Henry T. Beckwith, 1857, "History of Block Island":

"History of Block Island," S. T. Livermore, Hartford, 1877:

"While their number has averaged over forty during the last fifty years, not a life has been lost on account of the sea-unworthiness of the boats. They have been known to sail into the winds in storms that would quickly swamp larger vessels that should attempt to follow them."

(Old fishermen claim that the roughest trip ever made to the island was by the double ender "Thomas Lynch" on February 3, 1872.)

[&]quot;There are now about 55 of the island boats, well known from their peculiar build, being all two masts, clinker built and sharp at both ends. It is stated as an evidence of their good qualities, and the skill of their managers, that in open sea navigation in which they are used, but one has foundered in 59 years."

sloops and schooners came to take their place in the fishing industry. These latter have given way in turn to the less romantic but more practical motor-boat. One finds to-day that fishing at the Island is either carried on from an out and out motorboat or occasionally from a sloop, cat or schooner equipped with a gasoline motor as an auxiliary. The Block Island double ender is only a memory.

Extracts from the Rhode Island Gazette

The earliest Rhode Island newspaper was the Rhode Island Gazette, which was issued for a short time in 1732. These early newspapers contained very few local items, so we have been able to reprint in the following pages all of the items of Rhode Island interest. A photostat file of all the known issues of this paper is preserved at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library. The originals are in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

> Rhode Island Items. OCTOBER 4, 1732

Newport, October 4

Last Week Dy'd at South Kingstown, Mr. Christopher Helem, Clerk of the Inferiour Court, for King's County, much lamented.

On Friday last was drawn Mr. Lucas's Lottery. The House, valued at l. 510, the l. 50 Prize, and several others were drawn by Adventurers in Boston.

On Sunday last, arrived Capt. Gibbs from Jamaica. CUSTOM HOUSE, NEWPORT, ENTERED INWARDS

Waterman from St. Christophers, Rouse and Broughton from Maryland, Seares from Eustatia, Durfey from Virginia, Gibbs from Jamaica, Stodder from Hispaniola, Barker from North Carolina, Carr from Antigua, Cornel from New York. OUTWARD BOUND Pope for Antigua, Newton and Brown for Surrinam, Sweeting for South Carolina, Freebody and Norton for Leward Islands.

CLEARED OUT Linzey for Antigua, Cranston and Wanton for Leward Islands, Wickham for St. Christopher, Broughton for Maryland, and Jepson for Boston.

ADVERTISEMENTS

Newport, October 3, 1732

Ran away on the 1st of this Instant October from his Mistress Mrs. Elizabeth Cole of South Kingstown, a Spanish Indian Man named James, about 20 Years of Age, somewhat round shoulder'd of a short Stature, pale Complection, and speaks very good English. Had on when he went away a Beaver Hat, a Silk Muffler Handkerchief, a light Grey Coat, with long Pockets, and a dark Grey Camblet Jacket, Tow Cloath Breeches and Shirt, and Grey Yarn Stockins.

Whoever takes the said Indian, and conveys him to his said Mistress, shall have five Pounds Reward, and all necessary Charges paid.

TO BE SOLD

About 170 Acres of Land in North Kingstown, 40 of which is fenc'd and between 20 and 30 improv'd, situate on the Country Road. There is also a good double House on the Land inclos'd and a young Orchard of about 200 Apple-Trees, some of which have born this Year. Inquire of Capt. William Havens of said Town and know further.

THOMAS STAPLES OF NEWPORT, desires those who have not yet taken up their Notes given for his Lottery Tickets, speedily to pay their Money, and receive their Notes.

N. B. Several Prizes are yet in the said Staples's hands, not yet claim'd, which he desires may be sent for.

A GOOD NEW HOUSE AND SHOP, AND THE LAND, thereunto belonging, situate over against the Market-House in King Street, Newport, with sundry good, new, and

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vendable Goods to be sold by Lottery. Conditions of the Sale may be seen at most publick Places in Newport and Boston.

GENTLEMEN OF CAPACITY AND LEISURE, who are willing to encourage this Paper, by communciating their Thoughts in it, are desired to direct their Letters to the Author of the Rhode Island Gazette.

If Masters of Vessels arriving in Newport, from any Part of the West Indies, or other Places to which the Merchants in Boston usually trade, will give an Account of the most remarkable Occurrences, and what Vessels belonging to Boston were lying in the Ports from whence they come, at the Time of their departure such Accounts will be gratefully receiv'd and inserted in this Paper: And 'tis desired that Masters of Vessels sailing out of Newport, will put themselves to the Small Trouble of an Enquiry into Affairs abroad, in order to make it the more useful and entertaining.

Gentlemen and others in the Country are likewise desir'd to send an Account of what occurs in their Neighborhood (thought proper to be made publick) to the Printer of this Paper; which will be acknowledg'd as a Favour to him and his Customers.

Subscriptions are taken in by John Franklin, Tallow-Chandler, in Boston, and the Printer hereof.

NEWPORT, OCTOBER 11, 1732.

On Wednesday last at a Town-Meeting of the Freemen of Newport, the following Gentlemen were chose Deputies to serve in the General Assembly of this Colony, viz. Mr. George Goulding, Benj. Ellery Esq; William Coddington Esq; Joseph Whipple Esq; Mr. James Clerk, and Daniel Gould Esq;

The same Day dy'd suddenly Mr. Steven Easton, of this Town.

On Sunday last, at the Seventh Day Baptist's Meeting-House, Mr. Joseph Maxon and Mr. Thomas Hiscox, were ordain'd Elders at large of the Sabbatarian Baptist Church.

Thomas Hammett, under Sentence of Death for the Murder of Katherine Cook, found Means to get off his Irons; and Yes-

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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terday towards Night, his Wife and Child going to visit him, after staving about half an Hour, she came to the outward Door of the Prison, and desired the Prison-Keeper to lend her a Mugg to fetch home Milk for her Husband; adding, "Tis no Matter, now I think on't, there's one in the Room with him. Presently after, Hammett having put on his Wife's Cloak and Bonnet, knock'd at the Door; and the Prison-Keeper letting him into the Priviledg'd Room, he walk'd through it in the View of him and several others, who mistook him for his Wife. The Prison-Keeper going immediately to lock the Inner Doors, found his Prisoner was gone, and his Wife and Child left in the Room where he was confin'd. Upon which Notice was given by Beat of Drum in the Town, and the Sheriff, with several Officers of the Militia, rode out on the Island in quest of him; but he is not yet found. This Morning the Militia of the Town are in Pursuit of him. The Bonnet was thrown over the Prison Wall last night.

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT. ENTERED INWARDS.

Beauchamp from Hispaniola, Schermerhorn from Boston, and Mitchell from New Hampshire.

OUTWARD BOUND Souir for Spanish Town, and Power for South Carolina.

CLEARED OUT Sheffield for Great Britain, and Sweating for South Carolina.

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, ss

To all and every Officer, and other His Majesty's Subjects of the Colony aforesaid. Greeting.

WHEREAS THOMAS HAMMETT committed to Prison for the Murder of Katherine Cook, and under Sentence of Death, has made his Escape out of his Majesty's Goal in Newport, in the Colony aforesaid, on the 10th Instant. These are therefore in His Majesty's Name to require you forthwith to make diligent Search, and make Hue and Cry after the said Hammett, as well by Horsemen as Footmen, according to Law; and if you find him, to bring him before some of the Authority of this Government, that Justice may be executed according to his Sentence.

And all His Majesty's Officers, and others, in the Neighbouring Governments, are hereby desir'd to be aiding and assisting in the apprehending the said Criminal. Given under my Hand in Newport, October 11, 1732. And in the Sixth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

WILLIAM WANTON, GOV.

Said Hammett is a thin fac'd Man of a middle Stature, and had on a brownish colour'd Duroy Coat, Leather Breeches, and Yarn Stockins.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A PIECE OF LAND containing 40 Acres, lying a Mile and half from the Town of Newport, on the Road to Bristol Ferry, to be sold by William Coddington Junior.

NEWPORT, OCTOBER 18, 1732.

Capt. Alkin from New Providence, reports, that a small Time before he sail'd, he met, near Cape Maez in the Windward Passage, 7 English Men of War, and was commanded on board one of them; a Seventy Gun Ship, where he was inform'd that 23 more set sail from England with them.

On Sunday Night last dy'd Mr. Edward Nearegrass, after a few Days Illness, and Yesterday was decently interr'd.

The Colds, which have prevail'd so much at the Eastward, begin to spread very much here; and we hear very few escape them in the Country adjacent.

Last Week a Child about two Years old, scalded some Part of its Body by falling on and oversetting a Skillet of boiling Water, and dy'd the next Day.

Custom-House Newport. Entered Inwards.

Lyon, from Amboy.

OUTWARD BOUND. Campbell for Leward Islands, Seares for Eustatia, and Lightwood for South Carolina.

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CLEARED OUT Beard for Surranam, Bardin for Barbados, Sanford for Surranam, and John Michel for Boston.

We have receiv'd two Letters, one sign'd Wm K_____g and the other Cleverkin, for which we thank the Authors, and promise to publish them.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

[Repeated from October 3, and 11.]

NEWPORT, OCT. 25, 1732

CUSTOM HOUSE ENTERED INWARDS

Knox from Affrica, Clark from S. Carolina, Burton from Boston and Wharf from Newhampshire.

CLEARED OUT

Bredford for Boston, Power for S. OUTWARD BOUND Carolina, Gallop for Madera, and Mors for Jamaica. Crow for Jamaica.

Newport, Oct. 25, 1732

We hear that the Rev. Mr. George Barkley, Dean of London Derry, has given his Farm on this Island, worth about *l.* 3000, to Yale College in Connecticut.

A violent Cold, often attended with a Feaver, is become the general Calamity of the Town, very few Families escaping it. The Church of England, and the North Congregational Meeting House were not opened on Sunday last for Divine Service, the Rev. Mr. Honeyman, and the Rev. Mr. Searing being both very much indisposed.

Arrived a Sloop from Guinea, Capt. Perkins late Commander, who on the 27th of April last, was kill'd by the Negroes, who rose on the Sloop's Company. They kill'd several of the Negroes, and obliged some to jump down the Hold, and the rest to quit the Sloop, 13 of them getting into the Boat, & 9 into 2 Canoas with 4 Negro Traders then on board, who 'tis thought assisted and encourag'd them to rise. A considerable Number of Negroes came off afterwards in Canoas, and endeavor'd to get on board, but were beat off, and the Mate afterwards

EXTRACTS FROM THE RHODE ISLAND GAZETTE 109

recover'd the Slaves which escap'd. About the same Time the Slaves on board a Guinea-man belonging to Bristol, rose and destroy'd the whole Crew, cutting off the Captain's Head, Legs & Arms.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

A LARGE WHARF, measuring 50 Foot on the Main Street in Newport, 12 Lots of Land conveniently situated, and sundry Sorts of European Goods, to be sold by Lottery, by John Coddington Esq; of Newport aforesaid. Conditions of the Sale may be seen in most publick Places in Newport, and Boston.

N. B. In the second Line of the said Conditions, instead of 100 Foot, it should have been 50.

A GOOD convenient House and Land, bordering upon Lyn Street, Boston, together with sundry Lots of good merchantable New England Rum, to be sold by Mr. Augustus Lucas, Merchant in Newport, by way of Lottery. Conditions of the Sale may be seen at most Publick Places in Newport and Boston.

NEWPORT, NOV. 1, 1732

On Thursday last Mr. John Rider, being at work in his Rigging House, was taken with an Apoplestick Fit, and dy'd in a few Minutes.

The next Day dy'd suddenly one Phillips, a Journeyman Butcher.

CUSTOM HOUSE RHODE ISLAND: ENTERED INWARDS.

Howland and Helmes from Boston, Wheaton from Amboy, Dring from Barbados, and Drower from N. Carolina.

OUTWARD BOUND

Carr and Howland for Barbados, Vencent for Maryland, and Shearman for Jamaica.

CLEARED OUT Lightwood for S. Carolina, Souir for Spanish Town, Long for Surrinam, Stanton for Virginia, and Norton for Jamaica.

Will Rusty's Letter is come to Hand, and will be taken Notice of.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

[Repeated from October 3, 18 & 25.]

NEWPORT, NOV. 8, 1732

At the General Assembly held at Providence, on the last Wednesday of October last, the following Acts were past.

An Act for the further encourageing the destroying of Wolves in this Colony.

An Act stating the Governour's Fees for signing Commissions, and taxing Cost.

An Act for laying a Duty of Six pence per ton upon all Vessels Trading in this Colony, for supplying Fort-Gorge with Powder; and keeping it in Repair.

Last Friday 5 Persons lay dead and unburied in this Town, and 'tis said, that 14 dy'd the last Week.

Capt. Dring from Barbados, who sail'd on the 30th of September last, the next Day met with a violent Hurricane, which he supposes did considerable Damage in Barbados and the adjacent Islands.

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT, ENTERED IN-WARDS.

Holding from Boston.

OUTWARD BOUND Waterman for Barbados, Norton for North Carolina, and Clark for Leword Islands.

CLEARED OUT Wheaton for Amboy, Coggeshall for Jamaica, Campbell for Leward Islands, Sears for Eustatia, and Vencent for Virginia.

ADVERTISEMENTS

[Repeated from Oct. 11, 1732] Also,

This is to give Notice, that the Lottery set up by Isaac Anthony Of Newport, Rhode Island, will probably be drawn on the 16th of this Instant November, the Time perfix'd by a former Advertisement, the said Anthony having lately met with considerable Encouragement.

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NEWPORT, NOV. 16, 1732

Last Week dy'd Jahleel Brenton Esq; a Batchelor of an advanc'd Age. He formerly had the Honour to be Collector of all his Majesty's Customs, and Surveyor of the Woods in New England, at one and the same Time. The greatest part of his Estate is dispos'd of to his Nephew, Jahleel Brenton, Esq;

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT ENTERED INWARDS. Schermerhorn and Power from New York, Young from Barbados, Coggeshall from Jamaica, Estes from Maryland and Cahoon from St. Christophers.

OUTWARD BOUND Cupitt and Tillinghast for Barbados, Wickham and Reminton for Antigua, and Rouse for Maryland.

CLEARED OUT Carr for Barbados, and Townsend for Iamaica.

Capt. Cahoon, in 21 Days from St. Christophers, reports, That a Snow belongin to Bristol was lost a little Time before his sailing, and a Brigantine about the same Time, belonging to Mr. Sherland, Merchant in Barbados.

ADVERTISEMENTS

NOTICE is hereby given, That the Lottery set up by Isaac Anthony of Newport, is put off till the 15th of December next; at which Time it is not doubted but it will be full. Tickets are delivered by Benj. Bunker, Tinman, and Thomas Fleet, Printer in Boston, and by the said Anthony.

[Repeated from October 25, 1732]

NEWPORT, NOV. 23, 1732

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT ENTERED IN-WARDS, None.

OUTWARD BOUND Thomas for Barbados, Safford for Kyan, Gibbs and Seabury for Leward Islands.

CLEARED OUT Norton for N. Carolina, Casey and Helme for Antigua, Mors for Jamaica, Robinson and Schermerhorn for New-York.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWPORT, DEC. 7, 1732

Nov. 7, Mr. Beal, who has resided several Years in the Colony of Connecticut, and taught Vocal Musick at Yale College in New Haven, and at the other principal Towns in that Colony, open'd a School here on Tuesday Night last. He is assisted by his Son, who has a good Voice and Judgment. He intends to tarry here about three Months, and 'tis thought he will meet with good Encouragement, his Skill in Musick being well known.

'Tis reported, That on the 12th past, a Lad at Valentown, being ill of the late Cold, his Master order'd his Fellow Servant to carry him out and leave him in the Woods, and that the Lad was found dead a few Days following. After the Examination of the Master, Mistress and Servant, 'tis said they were all committed to Prison at New London.

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT, ENTERED INWARDS Newell from Bilboa, and Brinley from Amboy

OUTWARD BOUND. Tillinghast for Antigua, Rodman and Ladd for Barbados, and Norton for Jamaica.

CLEARED OUT Cane, Howland, and Thomas for Barbados, Coffin for N. Carolina, and Brown for Antigua.

ADVERTISEMENT

Next Week will be Published,

The Rhode Island A L M A N A C K for the year 1733. Fitted to the Meridian of Newport, on Rhode-Island, whose Latitude North is 41 gr. 30 m. Longitude from London 72 grs. By Poor R O B I N.

They say in Places nigh to London By making Butter cheese is undone: For, taking all the Butter from it, It makes the Cheese look bluely on it: But Cream and Milk in Cheshire ever, As they do come, so go together. Thus Mirth and Art, mixt up in Skull, Drops on this Sheet, and fills it full.

Printed and sold by J. Franklin in Newport. Sold also by T. Fleet, Printer in Boston.

NEWPORT, DEC. 14, 1732

We hear from Boston, that on Monday last the Winnisimet Ferry Boat, in passing from Boston to Winnisimet, was overset, and the Ferryman, a Negro Man who commonly went in the Boat with him, and 6 Passengers, were drowned. Two of the Passengers (a Man and Boy) were taken up by the Charstown Ferry Boat, and carry'd into Boston, where the Man dy'd in a few Hours after he was taken up; and 'tis said the Boys Life was dispair'd of at the Time of the Man's Death.

Capt. Sendyck, from Jamaica, who sail'd from thence on the 15 of October last, reports, that a Sloop belonging to Bristol in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, sail'd the same Day with him.

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT, ENTERED INWARDS Broughton from Maryland, Hammond from St. Christophers, and Sweeting from N. Carolina.

OUTWARD BOUND Coggeshall for Jamaica, Scott for Africa, Waterman for Antigua, and Freebody for Leward Islands.

CLEARED OUT Thurston, Gibbs and Taylor for Jamaica, and Gorham for New London.

ADVERTISEMENT

The Lottery set forth by Isaac Anthony of Newport, which was intended to be drawn on the 15th Instant, is nigh full; but the said Anthony not desiring to keep any of the Tickets in his Hands, has defer'd drawing the same till the 29th Instant, at which Time it will certainly be drawn.

WILLIAM DYRE AND NICHOLAS EASTON ESQRS. appointed Trustees for disposing of the Estate of Daniel Sebears of Newport, give Notice, That the said Estate will be sold on Tuesday the 26. Instant by publick Vaadue, at the Town School-House.

[Repeated from Dec. 7, 1732]

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWPORT, DEC. 21, 1732

Dec. 22. Last Week came from Boston to this Town the Lord Augustus Fitz Roy, Son of the Duke of Grafton, and this Week went from hence by Water to New York.

By a private Letter from London we have Advice, That Jonathan Belcher Esq; second Son of His Excellency Governour Belcher, stands a Candidate for Member of Parliament for Coventry; and that there is great Probability of his being chosen, considerable Interest being made for him.

We have certain Advice, that a Surranam Indian Man Servant who went away some Months past in one of the Point Ferry Boats of this Place, was taken up in the Latitude of 26 by Capt. Egleston, on his Passage from Antigua to London. He had in the Boat when he was taken up some raw Fish and Cag of Rain Water. 'Tis thought a Cag of Water was all his Sea Store, there being other Provision enough in his Master's House which he might easily have taken; yet none was missing by him or any of the Neighbours.

CUSTOM HOUSE NEWPORT, ENTERED INWARDS, None

OUTWARD BOUND Brrinn for Africa, Beauchamp and Dring for Jamaica, Sursum for Hondora, and Gibbs for Barbadoes.

CLEARED OUT Brinley for Amboy, and Godfrey for Leward Islands.

ADVERTISEMENTS

NOTICE is hereby given, That the Lottery set up by John Coddington of Newport, is put off till the 31st of January next, at which Time it is not doubted but it will be full.

Repeated from Dec. 14, 1732.

Godfrey Malbone's Connecticut Investment

By HOWARD W. PRESTON

Much has been said regarding the emigration from Windham County, Connecticut, to Rhode Island, but the reverse movement of Rhode Islanders to Windham has been scarcely noticed. From Richard Evans of Rehoboth and Providence, who, purchasing in 1693 from the Rev. James Pierpont two hundred acres of land, became the first white settler of Killingly, to Captain George Benson (late member of the firm of Brown, Benson & Ives), who sold his fine mansion on Angell Street, and removed to Brooklyn, Connecticut, in 1824, the list is an interesting one. Various motives caused these removals. Some wished dignified retirement, and some, like John Aplin, merely wished to escape from Rhode Island. Of all these, the largest landowner was Godfrey Malbone.

It was probably as an investment that Godfrey Malbone, senior, of Newport bought from Governor Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts three thousand two hundred and forty acres in "ye Township of Mortlake in ye County of Windhim and Colony of Connecticut." The consideration was ten thousand five hundred pounds and the deed dated October 10, 1740 (Pomfret Land Evidences, Book 3, page 60), describes the property "as a parcel of land called and known by the name of the manor of Kingswood containing three farms five hundred acres each . . . and also one other parcel of land lately called or known by the name of the manor of Wiltshire containing about five hundred and forty-five acres ... ye remaining one thousand two hundred acres being woodland and meadow." The land touched on the east "the remarkable bend or turn in the Quinebaug River" about a mile northwest of Danielson. This land was a portion of a tract of 5000 acres purchased by Jonathan Belcher from John Blackwell of London, who had secured it in 1686 from

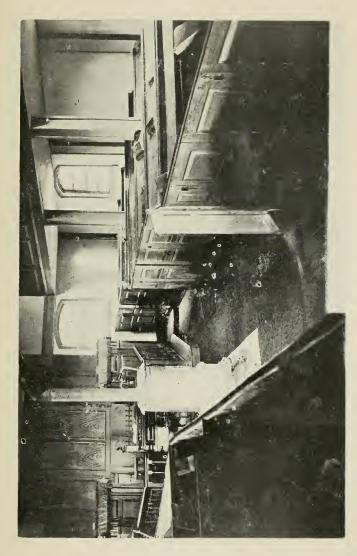
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Major James Fitch as a refuge for English and Irish dissenters. The other portion of the Blackwell purchase, the southern part of Wiltshire, 514 acres, had been sold by Governor Belcher the previous year to Israel Putnam and his brother-in-law, John Pope of Salem. These lands were in the present towns of Brooklyn and Pomfret. The farms composing the Malbone estate were rented to tenant farmers, as were the large farms on Boston Neck and those in our King's County. From 1740 to 1764 Malbone bought contiguous farms, adding nearly a thousand acres to his estate. Meanwhile his affairs had not prospered. Privateering was stopped by the peace of 1763 and the use of the British Navy to prevent smuggling rendered the molasses, rum, and slave trade unprofitable.

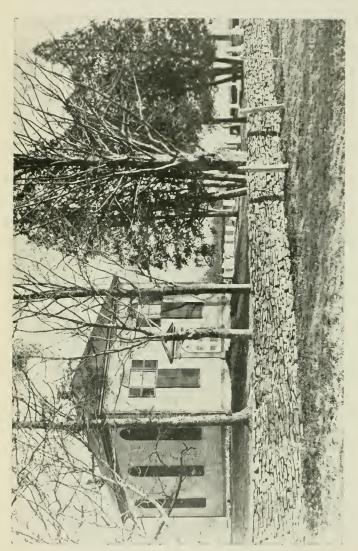
In 1763, Sept. 2, Malbone mortgaged for 1121 pounds to Charles Paxton of Boston the original tract purchased from Governor Belcher (Pomfret Land Evidence, Book 5, page 23). At the same time Godfrey senior and his sons, Godfrey junior and John, signed a bond for the payment of this debt. Charles Paxton was a Commissioner of Customs and a staunch royalist.

The next year, 1764, Oct. 16, Godfrey Malbone quitclaimed to his sons, Godfrey junior and John, the property mortgaged to Paxton and also his later purchases of land (Pomfret Land Evidences, Book 5, page 42). With the land he transferred to his sons "the following Stock and Negroes that is to say Eighty Cows, Forty-five Oxen, thirty Stears, forty two years old, Twenty Yearlings and thirty nine Calves, Six horses, Six Hundred Sheep, one hundred and Eighty Goats and all the poultry and one hundred and fifty hogs, twenty Seven Negroes viz: Prince, Harry, Pero, Dick, Tom, Adam, and Christopher, all Negro Men, and Dinah, Venus, Rose, Miriam, Jenny, and Rose all Negro women and three children, Primas, Christopher, Sias, Sharper and Little Pero all Negro Boys and also all the farming tools, utensils, grain, Household goods and all the other things of every Nature and Kind that is on or Belonging to the Land and Premises hereby granted."

In 1766 Malbone's county residence north of Newport near Tammany Hill burned. Interesting stories in which fact and



Old Trinity Church - Interior



Old Trinity Church, Pomfret, Conn.

fancy seem mingled are told of this occurrence. It is said a dinner was in progress in honor of the christening of Malbone's grandchild and the tables were removed from the burning house to the lawn where the festivities were resumed. The gardens and fish pond were evidently notable sights, for Solomon Drowne (age 14), visiting Newport in 1767, writes in his diary "I went up to Colonel Malbones House or the ruins of his House. There was a fine Garden and Summer House. There his House was built of stone and marvel! had six Chimneys. In his Garden was a Fish Pond and a Duck Pond The water was drawn out of the Fish Pond When his House was burnt" (Newport Hist. Mag., vol. 1, page 68). Even as late as 1821 Mrs. Sarah Howland writes under Newport in her journal, "went to Malbone's Garden and Tammany Hill" (Journal, page 45).

It was about 1766 that Godfrey Malbone, junior, who had married Catherine, daughter of Francis Brinley of Boston, removed to the Pomfret estate, occupying a tenant house near the south boundary of the manor of Kingswood. Later he removed to a house farther north, where he died. Neither of these houses are now standing.

Godfrey, senior, died Feb. 22, 1768, and was buried in Trinity Church, Newport. John Malbone remained in business in Newport.

The Malbone property had for several years been assessed for the support of the Congregational Church at Brooklyn, Connecticut, and although the Malbones and Brinleys were churchmen, the taxes were paid without demur, until the Brooklyn people, aroused by the building of a new church at Pomfret began to advocate the erection of a new church at Brooklyn. One-quarter of the expense of the building would, it was estimated, fall upon the Malbone property. Irritated by this seeming imposition and unable to defeat the project, Malbone devoted his energies to establishing an Episcopal Church in the neighborhood. By urgent personal appeals to his friends and fellow churchmen in Newport and in England and by a generous contribution of his own, Malbone founded Trinity Church, Brooklyn. He had intended erecting

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the church on his own land but a lot considered more central was offered and accepted. Although the parish has erected a modern church in the village of Brooklyn, the old building, locally known as Malbone's Church, though somewhat altered within and without, is reverently preserved.

Godfrey Malbone's removal to Connecticut was undoubtedly caused by the necessity for economical living and the expenses connected with the building of the church must have depleted his finances. The church was opened in 1771, and on April 11, Godfrey Malbone mortgaged his estate for 810 pounds and 6 shillings to Charles Paxton of Boston (Pomfret Land Evidences, Book 5, page 201), who still held the previous mortgage on the property from Godfrey Malbone senior. In 1778 almost all of the estate was sold by Godfrey and John Malbone to John Taylor, Joseph Palmer, and John Pearse Palmer (Pomfret Land Evidence, Book 6, page 199).

When the Continental Congress, November 27, 1777, recommended to the States to confiscate the property of persons who had "forfeited the right to protection," Connecticut, in May, 1778, passed an "Act for confiscating the Estates of Persons inimical to the Independence and Liberties of the United States (Public Records of the State of Conn., vol. 2, page 9). Selectmen were to give notice of any such estates in their town. The Malbone mortgage had not been paid and Charles Paxton, the holder, was a most obnoxious lovalist. As a Commissioner of Customs, he had directed the application for writs of assistance that called forth James Otis' oratory. Sabine states "that Charles Townsend in England and Charles Paxton in America were among the most efficient in producing the Revolution" (Loyalists, vol. 2, page 154). Upon the evacuation of Boston by the British in 1776, Paxton and his family had accompanied the army to Halifax and from thence went to England. He was thus both an "alien" and "inimical."

The Selectmen of the Pomfret sent a copy of the Malbone mortgage (now in Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts, vol. 12, page 53) to the county attorney with the endorsement: "To the Hon'ble States Attorney for the County of Windhamthe Foregoing Mortgage is Suppos'd to belong to A Person Inimical to this State and of Consequence forfet to this State, it Sir is Submited to You. Represent'd by us the Selectmen of the Town of Pomfret for Prosacution" The Windham County Court thereupon, September, 1780, declared the property confiscated to the state.

The Palmers and Taylor had sold portions of the land and now all the parties had lost their title. Under these conditions the Malbones petitioned the Connecticut Assembly for relief, and at the October session, 1781, it was ordered "that all further proceedings in the courts of law in this state relative to said confiscation shall be stayed and no further proceed for the present until the further order of this assembly" (Public Records of the State of Conn., vol. 3, page 537). This action, however, afforded only temporary relief, so a second petition was presented to the assembly by the Malbones in January, 1782, representing that "at the Commencement of the present War, they were the Owners of a very valuable Wharf, Warehouses, Still House and sundry Dwelling Houses in sd Town of Newport and also of Dwelling Houses on the Island of Prudence almost the whole of which have been burnt cut up and destroyed by our merciless Enemies while the Town of Newport was in their possession," that the securities received from the Palmers and Taylor for the land sold them are not yet due and they the petitioners cannot at this time pay the mortgage money and praying that the amount due be ascertained by a committee and upon the petitioners obtaining satisfactory security for the payment of this sum the state allow them three years in which to pay the debt (Conn. Archives Revolutionary War, Series 1, vol. 22, doc. 125). The Committee reported as due 3176 1 0 (doc. 126). The Assembly accepted Joseph Palmer of Braintree, Mass., and Col. Aaron Cleveland of Canterbury, Conn., as sureties for this sum, one third to be paid in one year, one third in two years and one third in three years, and ordered the Treasurer upon receipt of this bond to release the property to the Malbones (doc. 128). The deed was signed by John Laurence Treasurer of the State of Conn. Jan. 22, 1782 (Pomfret Land Evidences, Book 6, page 285).

Godfrey Malbone died in Pomfret Nov. 12, 1785, and was buried in Old Trinity Churchyard, Brooklyn, Conn. His inventory accepted by the Pomfret Probate Court March 11, 1786, shows a personal estate of only two hundred and sixty-two pounds and nineteen shillings. It is interesting to compare the stock on the reduced farm with that when the estate was given by the older Malbone to his sons. The inventory mentions one horse, a colt, five yoke of oxen, seven cows, two heifers, two yearlings and hogs, but no negroes.

Godfrey Malbone's real estate, including 158 acres standing in his own name and one half of 368 owned jointly with his brother, John, were ordered sold by the Probate Court to pay his debt and was bought June 9, 1791 (Brooklyn Land Evidences, Book 1, page 211), by Col. Daniel Putnam (son of General Israel Putnam), who married Catherine Hutchinson, a niece of Malbones. On the same day Col. Putnam purchased from John Malbone the other half of the joint estate (Brooklyn Land Evidences, Book 1, page 213), thus uniting the property and restoring it to the line of Godfrey Malbone, senior.

The "Othniel Gorton Tavern" an Error

I have recently discovered an error in Field's *History of Rhode Island*, volume III, page 586, where appears a picture of an old chimney remains, which is described as of the Old Othniel Gorton Tavern, erected between 1710 and 1720.

The facts are as follows: Roger Burlingame purchased land of the Coweset Indians, June 23, 1662, and May 13 or 14, 1663, the land then being described as in the Mashantatack Purchase, now Cranston, R. I. (Providence Town Papers No. 0120, Book I, page 53.) As he and two others were chosen to levy a tax there in October, 1671, it seems likely that he located there about

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THE "OTHNIEL GORTON TAVERN" AN ERROR 121

1670. On September 6, 1704, he deeded his homestead to his son Peter, reserved a life lease, and described it, together with another tract of land, thus: "Three parcels of land with the Mansion House on one of them and one parcel lying westerly from the Mansion House, parcel only divided with a highway both parcels containing 33 acres more or less. The other of the said three parcels contains 17 acres and is situate at or near a place called The Mines." (Providence Records, Book I, page 266.) The above shows that the Cranston Coal Mine was then of repute, as I have traced the 17 acre tract as near there.

Roger deeded again to his son Peter on March 15, 1708/9, fifteen acres adjoining to a small piece of land on the westerly side of the highway that lyeth to the westward of my now Dwelling House (Providence Records, Book II, page 187). This tract included the Iron Ore Bed which is well known. Roger, in his deed of 1704 to his son Peter, aforesaid, bounded the land northerly against land of Robert Potter. Rachael Potter through heirship right sold to Othniel Gorton, July 4, 1715, the land that joined Roger's homestead on the north, as noted in a deed from Roger to his son Roger, September 5, 1715, bounding north against land of Othniel Gorton, who never owned any of the Burlingame estate (Providence Records, Book II, page 425, and Book IV, page 111).

Roger's son Peter died in 1712, and his property rights went to his oldest brother, John, who made division with his brothers, Thomas and Roger. Jr., John retaining the Mansion House Homestead part. Roger Senior died September 1, 1718, and his wife Mary a short time previous. John sold the Homestead to Samuel Gorton, March 18, 1719 (Providence Records, Book IV, page 44). Samuel Gorton died and the Town Council sold the same to Elisha Baker, February 21, 1725 (Providence Records, Book VI, p. 470). Elisha Baker sold to Israel Gorton, May 13, 1752 (Providence Records, Book XIII, page 208). He willed all his real estate to his son, Captain Israel Gorton, July 4, 1772 (Council Records, Cranston, R. I., Book II, p. 161). He willed all his real estate to his sons, Pardon, Thomas and Cyrus, January 12, 1805 (Book I, page 246). They called for division, which was made April 10, 1807 (Book VII, page 315). Pardon had the southerly portion with a wood lot northerly and a half acre of meadow land on the easterly side of the Furnace Road (so called) a little northward of the Mansion House. The division line began on the "easterly side of the road about a rod west of the well, thence across the center of the well," which is now nearly filled. The nearby tumbled in cellar, the chimney mound and meadow land still mark the Mansion House Homestead Site of Roger Burlingame, 1st. Thomas Gorton had the northerly part and bounded against the easterly side of the Furnace Road, southerly and around the half acre tract to the point west of the well, and included the Mansion House. Cyrus, among other tracts, had one of "about an acre on the westerly side of the road nearly opposite the Old Mansion House," which is the same small piece "only divided by a road" mentioned in Roger's deed of 1704 to his son Peter, and again in his deed of 1708/9 to his son Peter.

Thomas Gorton's heirs sold the Mansion House property, April 1, 1822, and September 17, 1825, to David Nicholas (Cranston Records, Book X, page 302, and page 736). David Nicholas died and his son Amasa Nicholas sold to Harding Hudson, September 20, 1825 (Book X, page 737). Harding Hudson sold same to Amasa Nicholas, December 1, 1825 (Book X, page 667). Amasa Nicholas sold to Thomas Brayton, December 1, 1825 (Book X, page 668).

I find the Mansion House referred to several times in the old deed as a dwelling, but never as a tavern. Mrs. Esther (Searle) Williams and her sister, Miss Martha Searle, both over 80 years old, and born nearly opposite and a short distance west of Roger's Homestead Site, told me that in early life they called upon people who lived there, and never heard of it being used for any purpose but a dwelling. They also have told me that their brother, Wilbur A. Searle, and Henry Arnold took the old house down about the year 1855.

The May Day Souvenir of the Oak Lawn Baptist Church,

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May 2, 1882, states that for several years up to 1711 the Friends' Meetings were held at Roger Burlingame's house.

Under the reign of William III, King of England, the Council of War ordered Roger Burlingame, Sr., and 20 others to take 10 men each and search for the Indian enemies, April 24, 1697 (Volume XVII, page 164, copied Town Papers, June 6, 1698). He was elected a member of Providence Town Council (Providence Town Meeting Records, Book I, pages 28, 29). The aforesaid Roger Burlingame Homestead Site is situated about one and a half miles northwesterly from the Oak Lawn Depot, Cranston, R. I., on the easterly side of the Old Furnace Road (so called), nearly opposite the Wilbur A. Searle Place (so called).

The foregoing is but a small part of the record proof that I can furnish.

HENRY ALLEN BURLINGAME, 884 Central Avenue, Pawtucket, R. I.

A Line on the Jencks Family

By William W. Chapin

JOHN⁵ JENCKS (Daniel,⁴ Rev. Ebenezer,³ Joseph,² Joseph¹; see Gen. Dict. of Rhode Island, J. O. Austin) d. Jan. 6, 1791; age 61 yrs; m. (1) Hannah Cory; m. (2) Freelove Crawford; m. (3) Abigail, widow of Caleb Bowers, of Somerset, Mass.

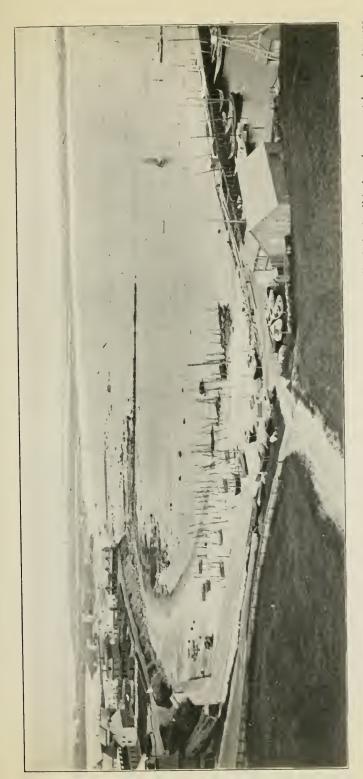
John and Hannah Jencks had Hannah Joanna Jencks, b. 1757; d. 1758.

 RUFUS⁶ JENCKS, b. Dec. 13, 1759; d. in a Prison Ship at New York, Dec., 1780. See Prov. Gazette of Dec. 20, 1780. He m. Anna, dau. of Stephen Whipple, of Smithfield. She m. (2) July 3, 1787, Ebenezer Metcalf, of Cumberland.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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- (2) DANIEL⁶ JENCKS, b. Mar. 14, 1761; d. The Prov. Gazette, of April 5, 1783, has this notice: "Daniel Jencks, of this town, lost at sea." He died before his father, and in the division of his father's estate he was not represented by any child.
- (3) JOANNA⁶ SCOTT JENCKS, b. Sept. 6, 1762; d. July 3, 1835; m. (1) Joseph Dolbear Russell, b. Sept. 2, 1756; d. Mar. 29, 1786, son of Joseph, and had Mary Russell, who m. Benjamin Munroe, of Providence. Mr. Russell died and his widow m. Hon. David Leonard Barnes. They had:--George Leonard Barnes, who m. Eliza G. Aborn; Ann Eliza Barnes, who m. (1) Peter Pratt and (2) Thomas Burges; Joanna Scott Barnes, who m. William E. Richmond, and Freelove Sophia Barnes, who m. Samuel Arnold. See Descendants of Johnathan Arnold, of Smithfield, and a genealogy of the Aborn family at R. I. Hist. Soc.
- (4) JOSEPH⁶ JENCKS, b. Feb. 11, 1764; d. Sept. 10, 1818; m., 1788, Mary Bowers, dau. of Jerothmial Bowers, of Somerset, Mass. They had: JOHN JENCKS. May 23, 1790; HANNAH B. JENCKS, b. Oct. 24, 1800, who m. her cousin, Edwin T. Jencks; JOSEPH S. JENCKS, b. April 24, 1804; JEROTHMIAL JENCKS, b. Jan. 6, 1807; and perhaps others.
- (5) CRAWFORD⁶ JENCKS, b. Oct. 14, 1765; d. Sept. 12, 1789. In the notice of his death the Prov. Gazette calls him "merchant."
- (6) SCOTT JENCKS, b. Sept. 1, 1767; d. m. Sarah, dau. of John Updike. The new edition of Updike's Hist. of the Narragansett Church says: "Sarah Updike, dau. of John, married Scott Jencks and removed with him to Cuba, where their son, William Scott Jencks, was married twice to Spanish



Old photograph of Block Island old harbor showing many of the oak poles which formed the "pole harbor" before the present breakwater was built. At the right may be seen several double enders tied to the dock, and in the middle foreground six or seven more are lying hauled out on the beach The long roof in the left foreground is the old fish drying house. Note the incompleted breakwater in the middle of the photograph. SIGNS EXHIBITED AT LOAN EXHIBITION AT RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Horses and Nules in drovs per head 2 in deves per head A Team of more than 4 Cattle... wine in droke to every fifteer ACoach Charlot or Phaeton ... 1 Chaise Chair or Sulkey. A Horse And Waggon Horse A Person and Horse more MOZY BH Sley whih 1 Veat C catt

Druggists' sign which hung at 73 Westminster Street, Providence, from 1843 to 1850 and later at 31 Westminster Street.-Now ocneed by Howard M. Chapin.

Rate Board of Toll used in Harmony Village, R. I., 1818-1880 .- Now in Museum of Rhode Island

Historical Society.

ladies and had a large family. Mrs. Jencks died in 1834." The Prov. Gazette has a notice that John Scott Jencks, formerly of this town, died at Regla, near Havana, June 25, 1823. One of the Spanish ladies whom William Scott Jencks married was Petronia Ximeno, Prov. Patriot of Aug. 11, 1821.

- JOHN⁶ JENCKS (Capt.), b. Mar. 10, 1769; d. 1849;
 m. (1) Oct. 22, 1793, Elizabeth, dau. of Benjamin Cushing, Jr., b. July 10, 1768; m. (2) Deborah Hill. His children may be found on page 3.
- (8) WILLIAM⁶ JENCKS, b. Sept. 14, 1770; d. July 1, 1792;
 m. (?) Elizabeth Brown (?).
- (9) SUSAN⁶ JENCKS, b. Feb. 29, 1772; d. 1774.
- (10) EBENEZER⁶ JENCKS, b. Nov. 14, 1773; d. at Island St. Thomas, 1799; m. Sept. 6, 1795, Mary T., dau. of Samuel Nightingale, b. 1773; d. July 20, 1861. They had Edward T. Jencks, who m. June 19, 1826, his cousin, Hannah B. Jencks (dau. of Joseph, and Crawford Jencks (1799-1813). Edward T. Jencks was living in 1823 at Waterford Plantations, St. John's Co., Florida, and died in Florida. Mrs. Mary T. Jencks lived for many years on College St. in the residence next east of the Athenaeum, and gave the estate by will to her Nightingale kindred.
- (11) POLLY⁶ JENCKS, b. Dec. 9, 1775; d. m. (1) Benjamin Cushing, son of Benjamin Cushing Jr.; m. (2) William N. Rhodes.
- (12) AMOS⁶ THROOP JENCKS, b. July 4, 1778; d. Havana, July 8, 1809; age 31 years; m. Rebecca, dau. of John Carter, who d. June 20, 1837, in her 60th yr. She left sons. Francis Carter Jencks and Amos Throop Jencks.

FAMILY 7.

JOHN⁶ JENCKS (John⁵, Daniel⁴), b. Mar. 10, 1769; d. 1849; m. (1) Elizabeth, dau. of Benjamin Cushing, Jr., b. July 10, 1768; d. m. (2) Deborah Hill. His children, all by the first wife, were:

- (A) JOHN C. JENCKS, b. Aug. 4, 1794; d. Illinois, 1846.
- (B) BENJAMIN CUSHING JENCKS, b. Nov. 4, 1795; d. 1868; moved to Illinois.
- (C) ANN ELIZA JENCKS, b. April, 1797; d. Sept. 28, 1825;
 m. May 21, 1818, Col. Henry Manton.
- (D) RUFUS J. JENCKS, b. Oct. 8, 1798; d. April 14, 1820.
- (E) FREELOVE C. JENCKS, b. Sept. 1, 1800; d. Dec. 27, 1831; m. William J. Manton.
- (F) GEORGE W. C. JENCKS, b. Dec. 28, 1801; d. m. Chloe S. Hutchinson.
- (G) CAROLINE J. JENCKS, b. Aug. 24, 1803; d. Sept. 25, 1881; m. William H. Cooke.
- (H) HANNAH CUSHING JENCKS, b. May 2, 1806; d. Putnam, Ct., June 3, 1875; m. Dr. Thomas D. Holmes.
- DANIEL CUSHING JENCKS, b. July 10, 1808; d. Feb. 20, 1885; m. Nov. 18, 1847, Eliza D. Randall. They were the parents of John Jencks of Barrington.
- (J) MARY S. JENCKS, b. Oct. 8, 1810; d. m. Richmond M. Bullock, of Putnam, Ct.

The first three of the children of Capt. John Jencks were born in Providence; the others, in Smithfield, near Lime Rock. His residence is now occupied by one of his Manton descendants.

In 1775, John⁵ Jencks bought of Joseph Whipple a strip of land running from Benefit Street to Hope Street, and measuring fifteen acres. Jencks Street and Barnes Street now run through the strip. The house on the north corner of Benefit and Jencks Street was built by him and descended to his son Joseph —later owned and occupied by Ebenezer Kelley. John⁵ Jencks owned many other pieces of real estate, a list and descriptions of which may be found in the Providence land records (20/91). Among his land holdings was a farm of 330 acres on Boston Neck, Narragansett, still called the "Jencks Farm." This descended from his father, Daniel Jencks, who bought of Benjamin Hazard in 1750. In the division of the lands of John

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Jencks, this farm was set-off to his son, Scott Jencks, but is no longer Jencks property.

The lot on the south corner of Benefit Street and Jencks Street was set-off to Joanna Scott⁶ Jencks (John⁵), who married David L. Barnes. The house upon it was built by them before 1814 and passed to their dau., Ann Eliza Barnes, who m. (1) Peter Pratt and (2) Thomas Burgess. It was afterwards owned and occupied by Judge and Mrs. Thomas Durfee,

The very old house on the prolongation of Admiral St. in which Edwin J. Cushing lived, passed from John Jencks, in his division of real estate, to his dau., Mary Throop Jencks, who m. Benjamin Cushing and (2) William N. Rhodes. Their dau., Mary J. Rhodes, m. Dr. Charles Weld, of Boston, and their dau., Mary H. Weld, m. Edwin J. Cushing. They had Mary W., who m. George S. Bullock, of Warren, R. I. Dr. Weld bought the interests of other heirs of Mary Throop Rhodes, and gave the estate to his wife, from whom it passed to Mrs. Edwin J. Cushing. The estate now belongs to Arthur Cushing, brother of Mrs. Bullock.

From a letter of Mrs. George S. Bullock, in 1908.

New Members

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society :

Mrs. George S. Mathews Mrs. F. E. Maxwell Mr. Norman B. Smith Mrs. Gerald Whitman

Letters Relating to Colonial Wars

Newport May 12th 1755

The Committee of War for the Colony of Rhode Island have sent Mr. Christopher Champlin to New York to try if Battoes can be procured in your Colony for the Use of the Forces raised in this Colony for the Expedition to Crown Point and also if He can agree with some proper Person to be Agent for the Colony in the Affairs of the said Expedition for such Thing as may be necessary to be done at York.

From the Acquaintance I have had with You I have recommended him to You to try if You will undertake it and on what Terms, however if You should not care to enter into the Business Yet I shall beg You to assist Mr. Champlin in the Affairs he is charged with.

Your helping Hand in those matters will ever be acknowledged by the Colony of Rhode Island as well as by him who is in Behalf of the Committee of War, Sir, Y^r obed^t humb^e Serv^t

S. HOPKINS

GERRARD G. BEEKMAN (Copy of a Letter to Maj^r Gerrard Beekman, in R. I. H. S. M., Vol. XII, p. 11)

To all Gentlemen that Keeps houses of Entertainment on the Rhode from Albany to Rhode Island Gentlemen

Whoever that Shall Supply aney of the Rhode Island Rigement that are on their way home with victuels as they pass along their way home Shall be Duely paid by the Committee of war of Rhode Island taking Care that the Soldiers have got furlows Signed by me the Subscriber and also taking the Soldiers Names Albany th6 November: 1756

> RUFUS HOPKINS Commecery for Rhode Island (R. I. H. S. M. Vol. XII:14)

Sir.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVII

January, 1924



Joseph Russell House, North Main Street Quarters of Chevalierde Chastellux.

\$3.00 per year

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RHODE HISTORICAL



ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVII January, 1924 No. 1

HOWARD W. PRESTON, President EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer GEORGE T. SPICER, Secretary HOWARD M. CHAPIN, Librarian

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Rochambeau and the French Troops in Providence in 1780-81-82

Howard W. Preston.

(Read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, March 12, 1922.)

Ι

The destination of the fleet which sailed from the harbor of Brest on the 15th of April, 1780, bearing the 5028 soldiers of our ally His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI, under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau, was a state secret. Conjecture was rife among officers and men. All knew they were to assist the Americans against the British, but where was to be the seat of war they knew not. Some thought the fleet was bound for the West Indies. Others were convinced their destination was the northern states. Blanchard, chief commissary of the French army, records in his diary that he always thought that the destination was New England "inasmuch as we had embarked goods suitable for the savages and which must be given to them in intercourse we might have with them."¹

On the 28th of May he notes that "by a change of course of the fleet, all doubts were dispelled and we saw plainly that we were going to New England."² Not until the 3d of June were even the colonels of the four regiments informed that their goal was Rhode Island.³

But long before this time, while the soldiers and sailors were still guessing at their destination, the townsmen of Providence had been warned to expect French visitors, and did not receive the news with pleasure—far from it.

The College building, old University Hall, had been used as barracks and hospital by our troops while the British army occupied Newport, but late in 1779 the Council of War voted to discontinue its use as it was needed by the college authorities. In the *Providence Gazette* of April 29, 1780, President Manning announced the reopening of Rhode Island College:

> NOTICE is hereby given, that on the 10th of May next the College in this Town will be opened, to receive the Youth who desire to prosecute their Studies under my Direction: And that a Grammar School will be opened, at the same Time and Place. The Terms of Tuition, and Boarding, may be known by applying to the Subscriber; who will pay particular Attention as well to the Morals as Instruction of those committed to his Care. JAMES MANNING. Providence, April 13, 1780

¹Blanchard, Journal, p. 9.

²Blanchard, Journal, p. 11.

³Deux-Ponts, My Campaigns, p. 79.

ROCHAMBEAU AND THE FRENCH TROOPS IN PROVIDENCE 3

Colonel de Corny, Commissary of War in the French army, had been sent in advance of the fleet to prepare for its reception. He was to provide barracks, provisions and hospital facilities. On his arrival in America, General Washington detailed Dr. James Craick, Assistant Director-General of Hospitals, to assist him.

Dr. Craick proceeded to Providence with a letter⁴ from General, Washington. Governor Greene and the Council of War on the 5th of June appointed John Innis Clark to assist the doctor in his preparations.⁵ The same day the Governor notified President Manning "that the College Edifice is most convenient in every respect for the purpose" of a hospital, and requested his attendance "to give them information of the use which is now made of said Edifice."⁶ Apparently President Manning was not inclined to yield his building without a struggle, for the matter went to the General Assembly, which at its meeting at South Kingstown this month voted to appropriate the College Edifice to the use of a hospital.

This action caused immediate protest from both the college authorities and the freemen of the town. The College would be deprived of its home, while the town feared the introduction of contagious diseases.⁷

A town meeting was called June 15, 1780, "to adopt legal and proper Measures to prevent the establishment of an Hospital in this Town for receiving the Sick on Board the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty daily expected to arrive in this State from Europe." It was resolved that a petition to the General Assembly be drawn by Stephen Hopkins, the Rev. James Manning and Theodore Foster. This petition probably already prepared was immediately read and adopted. It was ordered that Theodore Foster, Esq., and Colonel William Barton carry it to South Kingstown where the Assembly were in session in

⁴R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. IX, p. 87, note.

⁵Records of the Council of War, Vol. 4, p. 112.

⁶Bronson, History of Brown University, p. 71.

⁷Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 127.

the old Court House which now houses the Kingston Library, and with the assistance of the members of the Assembly from Providence present their case to the Legislature.

On Friday, June 16, these gentlemen travelled to the South County and waited upon the General Assembly, which the next day set aside the vote appropriating the College building for the use of the French troops.

Mr. Foster reported their success to the town meeting on June 19, and both he and Colonel Barton presented bills to the town for their time, horse hire and meals.⁸ Mr. Foster's bill was £119 6s.⁹ Colonel Barton presented a claim for £105 14s. This at first glance seems somewhat exorbitant for two days' services, but the original bill now in the town archives bears the annotation of the Town Treasurer that exchange is 70 for 1 and also the endorsement of Colonel Barton that he has received "one pound eleven shillings and two pence silver lawful money for the within account."¹⁰ Apparently the Town and the College had won. The General Assembly adjourned, but the end was not yet.

When the Assembly was not in session its executive powers were exercised by the Council of War, with the Governor at its head.

At the meeting of this Council, Sunday, June 25, 1780,¹¹ Colonel de Corny presented a request in writing stating that the College building, both on account of its situation in a town whose inhabitants are particularly attached to the good cause in which America and France are mutually engaged, and because of the salubrity of the air, had been particularly adopted, fixed and absolutely appointed by the Court of France and Doctor Franklin for the reception of the sick of the French army. He therefore requested that immediate orders may be given that the building be turned over to him without delay.¹²

⁸Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 128.

⁹Prov. Town Papers, Vol. 5, p. 134.

¹⁰Prov. Town Papers, Vol. 5, p. 91, doc. 2095.

¹¹Records of the Council of War, Vol. 4, p. 115.

¹²R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. IX, p. 119.

And there was no delay. The Council ordered the Deputy Quarter Master General to deliver the building to Colonel de Corny, and this same Sunday, while President Manning was preaching in the First Baptist Meeting House at the foot of the hill, the Frenchman took possession of his college at the top of the hill.¹³ Thus was the action of the General Assembly set aside.

The French used the building from June 26, 1780, to May 27, 1782, one year and eleven months, as stated in the bill rendered for its use.

The only consideration shown by the Council to President Manning was the vote that "as the house of the Rev'd Mr. Manning is situated so near said Edifice that it may be disagreeable to him to reside therein so long as the College may be improved as an Hospital, if he should be inclined to remove the Deputy Quarter Master General is directed to provide a suitable house for him and cause the vegetables growing in the gardens of Mr. Manning to be appraised by three indifferent persons that compensation may be made for the damage done the garden."¹⁴

Colonel de Corny represented to the Assembly that he found great difficulty in procuring a house in Providence for himself and family, owing to the great number of inhabitants and the scarcity of houses, and the Assembly assigned him a house belonging to Major Nathaniel Greene of Woodstock, Connecticut, but now "occupied by Captain Abimeleck Riggs with a very small family who may be easily accommodated in some other house."¹⁵ This house was on the north side of Westminster Street, east of Exchange Street and the Industrial Trust Building.

The French fleet with Rochambeau's army anchored in Newport harbor the 11th of July, 1780, and the *Providence Gazette* of July 15, 1780, announced their arrival. "Monday Night

¹³Backus, History of the Baptists, ed. 1872, Vol. 2, p. 349.

¹⁴Records of the Council of War, Vol. 4, p. 115.

¹⁵R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. IX, p. 120.

last an Express arrived at Major General Heath's Head Quarters in this Town, with the pleasing Intelligence that a Fleet of His Most Christian Majesty from Brest had arrived off Point Judith. It consists of 7 Sail of the Line, 2 Frigates, and 35 Transports, having on board about 6000 fine Troops. This Armament, which is commanded by the Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier de Ternay, entered the Harbour off Newport on Tuesday. Wednesday Evening the Town of Newport was handsomely illuminated, Rockets were fired, and other demonstrations of Joy exhibited, on this happy and important event. On Tuesday Major-General Heath with his Suite went to Newport."

The *Providence Gazette* of July 22, 1780, states that "A Transport with 350 Troops on board and a large quantity of Military Stores which had been separated from the Fleet is safe arrived at Boston. The Troops are on their March for this Town on their way to Newport and are expected to arrive here To-day."

These were the first French troops to appear in Providence. The ship was the transport Ile-de-France, carrying a portion of the regiment of Bourbonnais. Separated in the fog from the other vessels it made the port of Boston safely.¹⁶

The next French troops in Providence were the sick from the fleet as shown by this advertisement in the *Providence Gazette* of August 12, 1780.

"Notice is hereby given, That a Number of Sick belonging to his Most Christian Majesty's Fleet and Army are to be sent to the College Edifice in the Town of Providence for whom will be wanted immediately a Quantity of fresh Provisions also Cider and Hay or Straw for which articles a Generous Price will be given, in Hard Money.

It is earnestly wished that a full Supply may be immediately brought in; and it is hoped that No Person will be so sordid as to demand extravagant Prices from our great and generous

¹⁶Doniol, Histoire de la participation de la France, etc., Vol. V, p. 19.

Allies who have come so great a Distance to our Relief. Attendance will be given to receive the articles and Payment made by the Subscriber

Benoni Pearce.

Providence August 4 1780"

On the approach of cold weather, Rochambeau arranged to quarter within the town of Newport his infantry, which had been encamped in the fields, and sought winter quarters for Lauzun's Legion of Cavalry in Providence. Accordingly, the Council of War, October 15, 1780, appropriated "The Work House to contain one hundred and twenty men, Mr. Benjamin Stelles House Fifty, his shop Eighteen, Mr. Stephen Whipple's house Fifty, Mr. Joseph Hoyles shop Twelve men . . . and the Market House Chamber as a Store for their Grain and the Spermaceti Works and Store belonging to John Jenckes Esqr and Company as a Magazine for their Forage and . . . a sufficient number of Stables for their Horses."¹⁷

But Rochambeau, finding that some people had "raised forage to an extravagant price,"¹⁸ applied to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut for quarters for Lauzun, and the Connecticut legislature granted permission for quarters in the towns of Windham, Lebanon or Colchester.¹⁹ Thereupon Rochambeau arranged to station them at Lebanon.

The Legion arrived at Providence from Newport, November 10th, and remained until the 12th, Lauzun, true to his character as a ladies' man, gave a ball on the 10th.

From time to time the French officers visited Providence, either on business or from curiosity. Rochambeau's first visit was on August 26, 1780, when he was escorted from Newport by Deputy Governor Bowen and was met at the Ferry by Generals Sullivan and Varnum. On his arrival at the Parade,²⁰ he

¹⁷Records of the Council of War, Vol. 4.

¹⁸Stone, Our French Allies, p. 300.

¹⁹Records of the State of Connecticut, Vol. 3, p. 187.

²⁰The open plot of ground before the old State House on North Main Street.

was greeted by the discharge of fifteen cannon from the Independent Park of Artillery placed near the bridge. He drank tea with General Varnum and lodged with Governor Bowen on Market Square. This house was torn down in 1850, but a pencil sketch by Lossing preserves its appearance for us.²¹

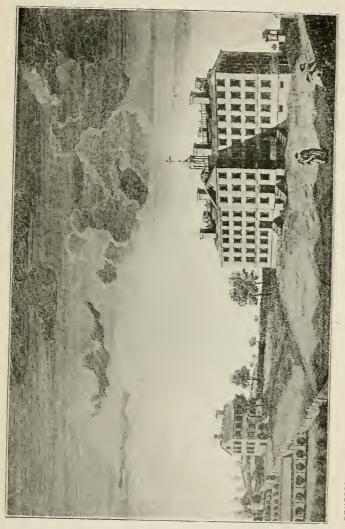
Rochambeau, with Admiral de Ternay, passed through Providence, September 18, 1780, on his way to his first meeting with Washington at Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth's house in Hartford, returning a few days later.

Rochambeau visited Lauzun's Legion in its winter quarters at Lebanon in December, 1780, when, according to tradition, a grand review was held. On his return, he lodged at Providence, where Commissary Blanchard gave him an account of his work as wood cutter for the army.²² On May 26, 1781, he again passed through Providence with the Marquis de Chastellux to confer with Washington at the Joseph Webb house, Weathersfield, when the Yorktown campaign was planned.

The most frequent visitor was the chief commissary, Claude Blanchard, who preferred Providence to Newport, as it seemed more lively. He was just picking up a few English words, so was obliged to converse in Latin with General Varnum, who invited him to dine at his house.

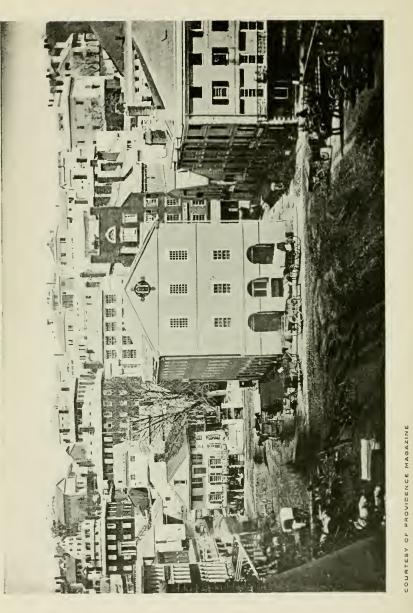
In October the cold weather necessitated a supply of wood for the French troops at Newport, and as the Island of Rhode Island had been stripped of its trees by the British soldiers, Blanchard sought a supply in the neighborhood of Providence, driving a bargain with Mr. Harris of Pawtuxet. Fifty soldiers were sent from Newport to cut the wood. The contract was for 2000 cords, and Blanchard passed most of the winter and early spring superintending the cutting and transportation of this wood. In September, 1780, he visited the hospital (University Hall), and found it in very good order with 380 sick. He climbed the steeple of the First Baptist Church, which he notes "like all of them in America is overloaded with carvings

²¹Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. 2, p. 58. ²²Blanchard, *Journal*, p. 83.



President Manning's House and University Hall,--Hospital for the French Troops

COURTESY OF PROVIDENCE MAGAZINE



Market Square, Governor Bowen's House at the left of the Market House Headquarters of Count Rochambeau

and ornaments painted with different colors." November, 1780, was a busy month with Blanchard, who remained in Providence. He records in his diary "had much to do for Lauzuns Legion which was to proceed to Connecticut to take up its winter quarters and which passed through Providence. All these details elsewhere very easy nevertheless met with many difficulties among the Americans who dislike to lodge troops and who as I have already mentioned are slow and even mistrustful."

This same month Blanchard paid a visit with Captain Haake of Royal Deux-Ponts to Mrs. Nathanael Greene at Coventry, whom he had met at Newport and Providence. "Mrs. Greene received us very kindly. She is amiable, genteel and rather pretty. As there was no bread in her house, some was hastily made; it was of meal and water mixed together; which was then toasted at the fire; small slices of it were served up to us. It is not much for a Frenchman. As for the Americans they eat very little bread. Besides, the dinner was long; we remained to sleep there. Mrs. Greene's house is situated upon a barren piece of land; this site could have been chosen only on account of the iron-works situated in the neighborhood. There is not a single fruit-tree, not even a cabbage. Another country-house is pretty near, inhabited by two ladies, who compose all the society that Mrs. Greene has; in the evening she invited them to her house, and we danced; I was in boots and rather tired; besides the English dances are complicated, so that I acquitted myself badly. But these ladies were complaisant."23

This house is still standing and is now the property of the Nathanael Greene Homestead Association.

The first mention in the Providence Town Records of a movement of the French troops is on April 9, 1781, when a request from "the Quarter Master General of His Most Christian Majesty's Army now in this State" was presented to the town meeting "to appropriate the Market House in this Town to store the Baggage of the Army." Permission was granted

²³Blanchard, Journal, p. 81.

"to make use of the Upper Lofts of the Market House Building as long as he shall want the same for the Use of the said Army on Condition of his laying a Tight double Floor in the Middle Loft and keeping and Leaving the Windows and that part of said Building which shall be improved by the Army in as good Repair as the same now is (saving the natural Decay) and building such a Pair of Stairs as he may think proper in such place as shall be directed."²⁴

Possibly the conditions were considered too onerous, for on April 18, 1781, when the town meeting appointed a committee to provide quarters for the French officers at the expense of the town, it also granted the upper part of the Market House and such part of the lower room as can be spared for storing the baggage of the French army.²⁵

The last day of May, 1781, Rochambeau wrote Governor Greene "I am quite ready to move with the French body" and asked an order "to impress all the wagons that are on Rhode Island for carrying our baggage as far as Bristol Ferry and another order to impress the wagons of farmers between Bristol Ferry and Providence to carry the same to Providence."²⁶ The first of the French troops to move were 50 Huzzars of the Legion of Lauzun who went on the 3d of June via Providence to join Lauzun at Lebanon, Connecticut.²⁷ On the 6th, the balance of Lauzun's infantry went forward. These camped to the west of the town of Providence on the ground a few days later occupied by the main body of the army.

Rochambeau's command was composed of the four regiments of Bourbonnais Royal Deux-Ponts, Soissonnais and Saintonge. Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts formed the brigade of Bourbonnais and Soissonnais and Saintonge the brigade of Soissonnais.

²⁴Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 136.
 ²⁵Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 138.
 ²⁶R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. IX, p. 433.
 ²⁷Von Closen, Vol. 1, p. 211.

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"On the 10th of June at five o'clock in the morning," says Count de Deux-Ponts, "the brigade of Bourbonnais embarked upon the little boats that were awaiting them, and only reached Providence at nine o'clock in the evening. It was impossible the same evening to lay out the camp, to pitch the tents and get the necessary straw and wood. The Baron de Viomenil got for that night from the town authorities some large empty houses where he lodged the soldiers and the next day, the 11th at six o'clock in the morning we encamped upon the height which commands Providence on the west. The brigade of Soissonnais arrived the same day and encamped on our left."²⁸

Lieutenant Robertnier of the regiment of Soissonnais of the second brigade says "they put the troops in small boats which went up the river to Providence. Several of these little boats were stranded so most of the troops had to pass the night in small boats. Most of the men were without food. It was only on the following day with the tide's help that these boats could go up the river."²⁹

Tradition names the old Market House, now the Chamber of Commerce on Market Square, and the Work House which stood on the west bank of the Moshassuck River just north of Smith Street, as the large empty houses occupied by the troops of the first brigade the first night.

Judge William R. Staples, the historian of Providence, writing some fifty years later, places this camp "on the plain near the burial ground of the Benevolent Congregational Society."³⁰ This locates the camp near the present Hayward Park and probably between Plane and Broad Streets. It was the same spot where Lauzun's men had camped a few days before. This section of the town was at this time an open plain, bounded on the east by the Pawtuxet Road and on the south by a brook and a ravine. It was not until 1785 that the Benevolent Congre-

²⁸Deux-Ponts, p. 111.

 ²⁹R. I. Historical Society Collections, Vol. XVI, p. 76.
 ³⁰Staples, Annals of Providence, p. 262.

gational Society bought two and a half acres of John Field for a burial place.

On the 14th, Rochambeau and his staff came by land to Providence by way of Bristol and joined the army. One of his aides, Von Closen, writes "The country between Providence and Bristol is charming. We were transported into the Garden of Eden, all the roads were bordered with locust trees now in bloom and spreading a delicious perfume, almost too strong."³¹ Count de Deux-Ponts says "We shall remain eight days in camp at Providence; and this time is necessary for us to collect horses for the artillery and the ambulances, wagons to carry our baggage, oxen to drawn then and to await four hundred and fifty men for our army who have just arrived at Boston upon the convoy coming from France."³² With these was the Abbé Robin, who in his letters complained of the discomforts of marching through southern New England in summer.

On the 16th, the Baron de Viomeril held a review of the troops preparatory to the campaign.

While in Providence, the generals and their aides and the general staff of the army were the guests of the townfolk, as appears from Town Meeting order of March 23, 1782, when all having claims on account of the French troops are ordered to present them to the Town Audit "excepting for Two Weeks at the Time when Count Rochambeaus Army passed through the town the last Year for which Time it is expected no Charges will be made or allowed."³³

Count Rochambeau was at the house of Deputy Governor Bowen on Market Square. This was later the Manufacturers' Hotel, which was torn down in 1850 when the What Cheer building, now the Providence Washington Insurance building, was erected. Rochambeau's aides, among them the Count de Fersen, well-known as the friend of Queen Marie Antoinette and the driver of the royal carriage on the flight to Varennes,

³¹Von Closen, Vol. 1, p. 215.

³²Deux-Ponts, p. 112.

³³Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 150.

were lodged with Nicholas Brown in the square three story brick house, later the office of the Second United States Bank, now 27-31 South Main Street. Baron de Viomenil, Colonel of the regiment of Bourbonnais, and two of his aides were at Joseph Brown's mansion, now the Providence National Bank, 78 South Main Street. The entrance was then in the second story with a long double flight of steps, up which, it is said, one of the French officers, in a moment of exhilaration, rode his horse and into the hall; when unable to force the animal back down the stairs, he was obliged to ride through the house and return down the hillside to the street. The Count de Viomenil was at Colonel Nightingale's on North Main Street, near the mouth of the present East Side tunnel. The Chevalier de Chastellux was at Joseph Russell's house on North Main street. This was later the residence of Dr. Amos Throop, then for many years the home of Hon. Zachariah Allen. When North Main Street was widened, the house was raised and a new first story of stores was built. More recently it served as the Clarendon Hotel, and is now the headquarters of the Society for Organizing Charities. The fine interior woodwork has been removed, the best of it to museums beyond New England. The aides of Chastellux were in the Benjamin Cushing house, then on North Main Street, but which was moved up the hill when the Furlong block was built. It is now 381/2 North Court Street, in the rear of 38, the Bridgham house. Count Dumas and Chevalier de Lameth were at Dr. Bowen's where the Franklin House now stands, corner Market and College Street. More than fifty officers were quartered in the town, but most of the houses that sheltered them have been destroyed.34

Among the Rochambeau papers in the Library of Congress is the "Plan to convey the army from Providence to Kings Ferry on the left bank of the North river in 17 marching days including two stops." This document gives the detailed arrangements for the march and describes each camping place. The

³⁴Magazine of American History, Vol. III, p. 430. Stone, Our French Allies, p. 321.

entire army was divided into two divisions. The first division composed of Lauzun's Legion, which had wintered at Lebanon, Connecticut, formed the left column, which was to march parallel to the right column but between it and Long Island Sound, to protect Rochambeau's main body from attack by troops from the British fleet. The four other divisions composing the right column were to march a day apart so that the camp vacated by one division on the morning would be occupied the same evening by the next division. Each division was preceded by pioneers with axes, and had its share of the field artillery, camp wagons and ambulance corps.

The first of these divisions was commanded by Count Rochambeau himself, and consisted of the regiment of Bourbonnais, the second, under the Baron de Viomenil, was the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts, the third, under the Count de Viomenil (brother of the Baron), was the regiment of Soissonnais, and the fourth, under the Marquis de Custine, was the regiment of Saintonge. In accordance with this plan, the regiment of Bourbonnais left Providence early on June 18, 1781, to join Washington's army.

Judging from the maps in the Rochambeau Collection and the early maps of Providence, the French army, on leaving the camp ground between Broad and Plane Streets, passed through the present Stewart Street to High Street, and west along this to the junction (Hoyle Tavern), where, leaving on their right the road to Hartford, they took the road to the left, then called the Monkey Town road, now Cranston Street, and followed this to Monkeytown, now Knightsville. The army here turned to the right following the old Scituate road over Dugaway hill by the late Pippin Orchard School house, over Apple House hill and Bald hill, crossing the Pawtuxet at the village of Kent and on to Waterman's Tavern, fifteen miles, the end of the first day's march and the first camp. Waterman's Tavern is still standing in good condition near Potterville on the old Scituate road a mile or so north of the new state highway. It is now the home of Mr. Elmer A. Havens, who shows two wells of small diameter neatly stoned, that are said to have been dug by the

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French troops that camped here, both on the march to Yorktown and on the return march. The instructions for the march say: "The camp is in quite a good position although in the midst of woods, having a brook in front, and behind, the tavern and the main road from Providence to Watermans much better than that by Angells tavern. The accommodations for divisional headquarters are not aboundant but more than at Angell's tavern or Whipple house." On June 19, the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts set out for the camp at Waterman's, followed on the 20th by the regiment of Soissonnais and on the 21st by Saintonge. With the departure of this last regiment, there were left in Providence a guard for the baggage and munitions stored in the Old Market House, and the surgeons and attendants at the hospital in University Hall.

The conclusion of the matter is shown by the interesting proceedings of the Town Meeting of March 23, 1782.

"Whereas the Greatest Part of the Troops of his Most Christian Majesty who were stationed in this Town, have Removed whereby the Elegant Large and Capacious Building with many Rooms therein, handsomely finished, heretofore improved as an Hospital, at present in the Possession of the Commanding Officer of said Troops now here, is left almost Empty, and a Number of Rooms have been taken up for some of the officers of the Army from the Inhabitants at the expense of the Town, which Rooms belonging to the Inhabitants are in some Instances much wanted, and the Burden of Taxes unavoidably accruing to the Town on Account of the War are such as absolutely require the utmost Oeconomy in the Expenditure of Money collected by the Town—

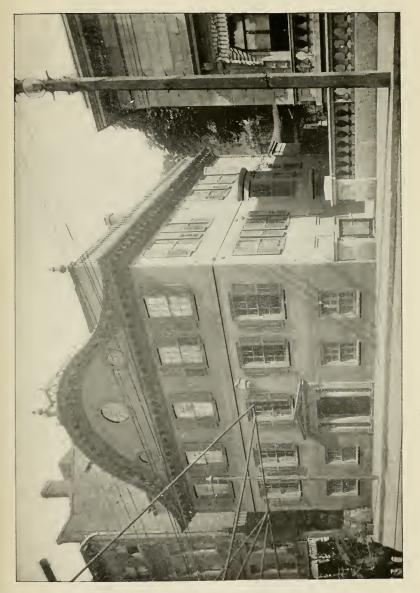
It is therefore Voted and Resolved That Metcalf Bowler Esqr. and Theodore Foster, Esqr. be a committee to wait upon the Gentlemen who occupy said Rooms for which the Town pay Rent and to inform them that this meeting impressed with a high Sense of Gratitude for the most Exemplary Good Conduct, Order and Regularity Observed by the said Officers and Troops at all Times since their residence in this Town and having Experienced so much of their Candour and Generosity are persuaded they will not be offended considering the Great Burden upon the Town in being Requested, unless they themselves contract with the Owners of the Rooms they now improve, to take Quarters in a Building so Elegant, Commodious, well finished and so beautifully situated as the Edifice aforesaid, expecially when the Finances will not admit of Rent being paid by the Town for the said Rooms for any Longer Time than till the First day of April next.

Resolved That all Persons having demands against the Town on Account of Contracts made by the Committee appointed to procure Rooms for the French Officers bring in the same to the Town Audit who are requested and Directed to take the same into Consideration and that they draw orders on the Town Treasurer for payment of the Rents duly contracted for and certified by said Committee excepting for two Weeks at the Time when Count Rochambeau's Army passed through the Town the last Year for which Time it is expected no Charges will be made or allowed.

Resolved That it be Recommended to the Committee of the Market House to cause the same to be opened the whole of Every Day excepting Sundays when it is not to be opened at all—and that the Stalls be Rented out to the best advantage.

Whereas Col. Amos Atwell exhibited to this Meeting an Accompt by him charged against the Town for Rent due him pursuant to Contracts of the Committees of the Town, for the Use of part of his House for a French Officer and his Attendants in August Last and for Quarters for Captain De La Barrolier and his Attendants 7 Months and 2 days viz from the First of September Last to the first of April next duly Certified and Examined It is voted and Resolved that the Amount thereof being Eighteen Pounds Two Shillings and Six pence Lawful Silver Money be allowed and paid to said Amos Atwell out of the Town Treasury.

Whereas Capt. William Chace exhibited a Certificate to this meeting from the Committee appointed on the 18th Day of April Last Whereby it appears that the sum of Four Pounds and Ten Shillings Silver Money is due to him for $4\frac{1}{2}$ months



COURTESY OF PADVIDENCE MAGAZINE

Joseph Brown House, South Main Street,- Quarters of Baron de Viomenil



Nicholas Brown House, South Main Street Quarters of Count Rochambeau's Aides

Rent for half his house occupied by Capt. Jaimaico an Officer in Count Rochambeau's Army. It is therefore Resolved that said Sum be paid to said William Chace out of the Town Treasury.

Whereas Major Elihu Robinson hath exhibited to this meeting a certificate from the same Committee that there is due to him Two Pounds and Two Shillings Lawful Silver Money for the Use of his Great Room Seven Weeks by Mr. Demas It is therefore Voted that the said sum be paid to said Elihu Robinson out of the Town Treasury.

Whereas M^{rs} Penellope Peck hath exhibited an Account by her charged against the Town for Rooms furnished Doct^r Ferron principal Marine Physician of the Navy of France in this Town, from Oct^r 4th to Nov. 8th at 6/ per week and the said Account having been duly examined and Considered It is Resolved that the Amount thereof being One Pound and Sixteen shilling Lawful Silver Money be paid to her out of the Town Treasury.

Whereas M^r John Larcher hath exhibited an account by him charged against the Town for Rent for Quarters for Two French Surgeons viz for Mons. Fownee from Aug. 28 to Dec. 15 1781 15 weeks and six Days and for Mons^r Segar from Aug. 28 to Feb. 15th being 24 weeks and 5 days at 3/ per week in the whole amounting to Six pounds and Two Shillings Lawful Silver Money and the same amount having been duly certified and examined it is Voted and Resolved that the said Sum be paid to said John Larcher out of the Town Treasury

And Whereas the said John Larcher hath exhibited one other Account duly certified for Quarters for another French Officer from April 17th to July 3^d 1781 11 weeks. It is Resolved that the sum of One Pound and Thirteen Shillings Lawful Silver Money the Amount of said Last Mentioned Account be also allowed and paid to said John Larcher out of the Town Treasury."³⁵

³⁵Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 150-1.

There was however one delayed bill upon which the Town Meeting of August 5 1782 took action.

"Whereas Mr. Levi Whipple hath exhibited to the Meeting an Account by him charged against the Town for the Rent of part of his House occupied by some of the French Troops and the said Account having bene examined and allowed by the committee appointed to examine and adjust said accounts and being now duly considered. It is Voted and Resolved That Three and Twelve Shillings, Lawful Siver Money be allowed and paid to said Levi Whipple out of the Town Treasury."³⁶

II.

On the return march Rochambeau reached Hartford October 28, 1782, and on the 29th the first brigade arrived and was ferried across the Connecticut River to camp at East Hartford. On October 30 the artillery, having obtained permission to march a day ahead of the infantry, set out early for Providence. Rochambeau, ordering the army to follow, not by four divisions as on the outward march, but by two brigades a day apart, started by the upper road by way of Pomfret and Thompson for Boston, accompanied by Von Closen, who had already traversed this route.^{36a} After passing the artillery, the general was met by a messenger from Admiral Vaudreuil announcing that the squadron would not be ready to sail from Boston November 15 as expected. Rochambeau, therefore, returned to East Hartford and recalled the artillery.

Meanwhile the General Assembly of Rhode Island, informed "that the French troops under the command of His Excellency the Comte de Rochambeau, are on their march, and will pass through Providence on their route, and that it is the request of the said Comte de Rochambeau that suitable quarters may be provided for the officers while they remain in Providence, and that some person may be appointed to wait on Monsieur Beville, Mareshall General de Logis, to point out to him the quarters

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³⁶Town Meeting Records, Vol. 6, p. 158.

³⁶^aVon Closen, Vol. II, p. 211-12.

which may be provided," voted that the town council of Providence be requested immediately to provide the necessary quarters and that Colonel Daniel Tillinghast and Major John Whipple be requested to assist the town council and that one of these gentlemen wait on Monsieur Beville at Waterman's tavern in Coventry and inform him of the quarters prepared for the accommodation of the officers of the French army.³⁷

The artillery again took up the march for Boston on November 3, followed on the 4th by the first brigade, along the route of the previous year.

Rochambeau and his staff preceded the artillery and November 8, after breakfasting at Waterman's tavern, reached Providence about noon. It was arranged that officers should take their quarters of the previous year.38 The artillery arrived the next day and camped on the ground occupied the previous year, to the west of the town. The first brigade arrived the 10th and the second brigade the 11th and apparently camped across the road from the artillery near a wood which Rochambeau counted upon for firewood and for the construction of barracks. The owner, however, refused his consent. A suitable spot, however, was soon found with convenient wood and water and on the 13th Rochambeau moved the infantry to the well known camp ground on Camp Street, then in North Providence. the farm of Jeremiah Dexter. A diagram of this camp ground marking the traces of huts was made in 1865 by Edwin M. Stone and Henry R. Davis.39 The artillery remained on the old camp ground until it left for Boston November 18th. Several houses in the neighborhood still standing are associated with the French officers, the Pidge tavern and the Elisha Brown brick house, both on North Main Street, and the Richard Brown brick house near the Butler Hospital. Four companies of fusiliers were stationed at Pawtuxet, where earthworks on the Neck (Fort Hill Avenue), not long since levelled, commanded the approach to Providence.

³⁷*R. I. Colonial Records*, Vol. IX, p. 603.

³⁸Von Closen, Vol. II, p. 219.

³⁹Stone: Our French Allies, p. 309.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Monday evening, November 18, the Count Rochambeau gave a ball at Hacker's Hall, South Main Street. The invitation received by the Misses Angell read: "Count de Rochambeau presents his compliments to Miss Nabby and Miss Polly Angell and begs the favor of their company to a ball at Hacker's Hall Monday at 6 o'clock. If they decline this invitation they will be so good as to send an answer by the bearer Nov. 16th." The next issue of the *Providence Gazette* has the following item: "Last Monday evening a very splendid Ball was given by his Excellency Count Rochambeau to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the town."

At the November session of the General Assembly, "Thomas Hazard Esq., Mr. John Brown, William Ellery and Rouse J. Helme, Esqs.," were appointed a committee to draft an address to His Excellency Count Rochambeau, he being about to embark for France." Their work was approved and it was voted that the secretary make out a fair copy thereof, that His Excellency the Governor be requested to sign the same, and that it be countersigned by the secretary and forth with transmitted to the said Count Rochambeau." Rochambeau's reply from Providence November 28 informs the Governor that "This state is the first we have been acquainted with, the friendly behavior of its inhabitants now, and at our arrival here, will give them always a right to our gratitude."⁴⁰

On November 30, 1782, Rochambeau turned over the command to Baron de Viomenil and set out for Philadelphia, whence he embarked for France. The army broke camp on December, proceeded by divisions to Boston.

As the first sojourn of the French in Providence left its traces in claims presented to the town meeting, so this second visit likewise gave rise to claims which demanded the attention of the General Assembly. The claims of the owners of the camp ground and adjoining fields for wood and damage to property caused by the French troops amounting to over four thousand dollars were paid to Thomas Arnold but were considered exorbi-

⁴⁰*R. I. Colonial Records*, Vol. IX, p. 617, 619-20.

tant. The services of Deputy Governor Bower were sought to bring the matter to the attention of the General Assembly. The result is shown in the following resolutions:

"Whereas the Honorable Jabez Bowen Esq. hath represented unto this Assembly that upon that the arrival of the Army of his Most Christian Majesty in the Town of Providence, and the Vicinity thereof, it became necessary for them to be hutted in the Woodland of North Providence, where a considerable Quantity of Wood was cut and Damages done unto the Lands: That upon the Moving of the said Army a Committee was appointed to estimate upon the Damages done unto the Proprietors of the said Land who reported the Sum of Four Thousand six hundred Silver Dollars as Damages which Sum the Intendant of the said Army and the Commissary of War conceived to be enormous and extravagant: And as the said Committee were obliged to make a precipitate Estimation without taking a sufficient View and it is indispensibly necessary that the strictest Justice be done unto the Army of our good Ally:

Wherefore *It is Voted and Resolved* That Messieurs Benjamin Whipple, jun. Edward Smith and Stephen Olney all of North Providence be and they are hereby appointed, authorized and required to go upon the Lands and Premises afore said and to take a strict view of the same and to make and estimate the real and just Damages done thereunto and to make Report unto the said *Jabez Bowen* as soon as they may be, what Sum ought in Justice and Good Conscience to be paid unto the Proprietors of the said Lands; which estimation shall be binding upon the said Proprietors.

And it is further Voted and Resolved That the Whole of the Monies now paid into the Hands of Thomas Arnold Esq; by the Treasurer of the said Army be and remain therein until the Report of the said Committee be made: That the said Jabes Bowen be and he is hereby directed to order the said Money to be paid agreeable to the Report of the said Committee; and that the Overplus if any there be be paid to the said Commissary at War."41

The Barracks and Huts were apparently sold December 31, 1782, and the account shows that 266 huts were sold at prices ranging from 6 to 9 shillings, amounting to two hundred and ninety and one-third dollars. The whole number of barracks is stated as 325.⁴²

The Committee's report is embodied in the following resolution:

Whereas Messieurs *Edward Smith, Stephen Olney* and Benjamin Whipple, jun. were by this Assembly appointed a Committee to View and estimate the Damages done by the *French* Army in the Vicinity of their Encampment in *North Providence* and to value the Wood cut and used by them: And they having performed said Service, reported thereon that the following Sums ought to be paid to the Proprietors for the Damages they have actually sustained: That the Wood and Timber of which the Huts are composed of be considered as the property of his Most Christian Majesty: That the Trees and other Timber and Wood which remain within the Surveys be considered as the Property of said Proprietors in Balance as a Compensation for that which was cut without said Surveys; and that there be paid Dollars

To Jeremiah Dexter for 699 Cords of Wood cut of 23 Acres 1 Rod and 14 Poles of Land at 2 Dollars per cord Damages done Fences &c $48\frac{1}{2}$

To Joseph Dexters Heirs for 953½ Cords of Wood cut off 31 Acres 3 Rods and 9 Poles of Land at 2 Dollars per Cord Damages done Fences &c 1401/3

^{14461/2}

^{20471/3}

⁴¹R. I. Acts and Resolves, November Session, 1782, p. 24, also R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. IX, p. 627.

⁴²Reports, 1778-1788, p. 42, R. I. State Archives.

To Thomas Arnold for 24 ¹ / ₄ Cords of Wood at 2 Dol- lars per Cord Fences destroyed &c	70
To Jeremiah Sayles for 4 Cords of Wood at 2 Dollars per Cord, Fences destroyed &c	432⁄3
To Peter Randall for Fence &c destroyed	10
To Marcy Dexter for Fence &c destroyed	10

Dollars 3627 1/2

Cost of the Committee Ten Dollars received of Jabez Bowen Esq by Stephen Olney

> Edward Smith Stephen Olney Benjamin Whipple, jun.

North Providence December 23, 1782

Which being duly considered *It is Voted and Resolved* That the said Report be accepted: That the Sum of One Thousand and Three Dollars Three-Quarters of a Dollar being the Sum which the Proprietors of said Woodland have received more than the amount of the Damages done them according to said Report be paid by the Persons who have received the same to the Honorable Jabez Bowen, Esq., and that after deducting the Expences of taking the said Estimate of Damages the said Jabez Bowen pay the Remainder to the Order of the Commissary at War of the French Army."⁴³

This passed the Lower House March 1, 1782, and was concurred in by the Upper House March 4.44

The Squadron with the French troops sailed from Boston December 24 for Posto Cabello, Province of Caraccas, arriving there February 10, 1783. The news of peace between France and Great Britain reached them March 24 when they sailed for France, stopping at San Domingo and reaching the harbor of Brest June 17, 1783, whence they had sailed over three years earlier.

⁴³*R. I. Acts and Resolves*, February Session, 1783, p. 27-28. ⁴⁴*Reports*, 1778-1788, p. 43, R. I. State Archives.

The Capture of His Majesty's Ship Syren

By William Davis Miller.

During a gale on the morning of November 6, 1777, the British frigate Syren, sailing in company with ship Sisters and the tender Two Mates, was driven ashore near Point Judith and was captured by the battery of artillery stationed¹ at that place assisted by members of the Second Regiment of the Kings County Militia under Col. Charles Dyre. The Sisters and the Two Mates shared a like fate although it appears that the Sisters had been floated prior to her capture.

The *Syren* was a frigate of twenty-eight guns and was manned by a crew of one hundred and sixty-six officers and men,² her captain being Tobias Furneaux. No reference can be found to the details of the two other vessels.

The following depositions,³ made by men called up shortly after the ships went aground, give an interesting account of the incident:

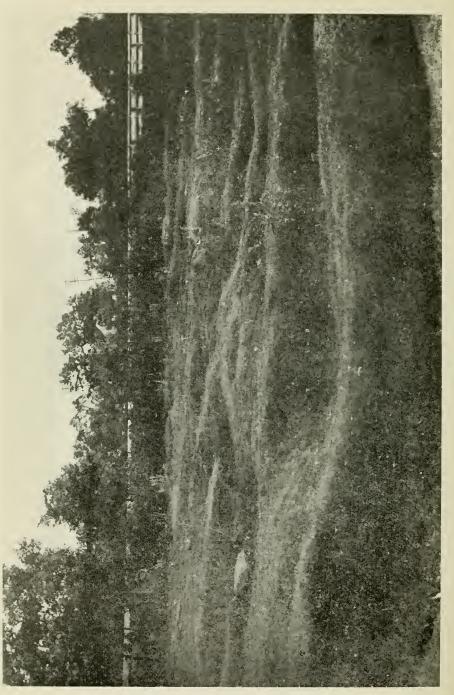
"Edward Lock of South Kingston Declareth, that on the sixth day of November A. D. 1777 in the Morning of said day I marched Compleat in my Arms to Point Judith Point, where lay Two Ships aground & a Schooner a float, & after a Smart Ingagement I with others took said Schooner, some time after that ye same day I saw at sd Point John Pain Peckham & Martin Murphy, sd. Jo. Pain with a Gun in his hand, we remained there

¹History of the State of Rhode Island, Arnold, Vol. II, p. 409. ²Idem.

³Originals from the papers of late Elisha R. Potter of Kingston and now in the possession of W. D. Miller.



Route of March of the French Troops from Providence to Waterman's Tavern. (Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress)



with others 'til some time in ye evening of the same day 'til Col. Charles Dyer appear'd thare & soon after he came Col Sands and Capt Saml Potter told us as we and our Guns were wet we had better go from sd Point & dry ourselves & guns & refresh ourselves & return as soon as we Could Conveniently agreeable to said directions we left sd Point dry'd ourselves & Guns & refreshed ourselves & myself & sd Jn. Pain Peckham, return'd to sd Point early next morning with our Guns & I saw sd Martin Murphy at said Point sd Morning, & then we all went to work in helping ye prisoners on shore & in unlading sd ships & worked there several days.

Edward Lock."

"Martin Murphy of South KingsTown, Declares, That on the sixth day of November A. D. 1777 I was Alarmed by Notice sent me & others, by Josephus Peckham (as I was informed) that there was that day two Ships & a Schooner aground at Point Judith Point in sd South Kingstown belonging to the Enemy, I then Marched compleat in my Arms to sd Point & got there just after said Schooner was taken I then saw there Thomas Steadman, William Steadman, James Steadman, Edward Lock & John Pain Peckham each of them had a Fire Arm in their Hands, I remained at sd Point with them and others. 'til some time in the evening of the same day 'til Col Charles Dyre appeared there—soon after Col Dyre appeared, he & Col Sands, said as we & our Guns were wet, we had better go from thence & dry ourselves and Guns & come there again next Morning in obedience to sd directions I then went from thence with sd John Pain Peckham, Edward Lock and others & dryed myself & Gun & according to order returned to sd Point early next Morning also appeared there early the same Morning sd John Pain Peckham & sd Edward we had each of us a Fire Arm with us & then we all went to work in assisting to unload sd ships & worked there several days, I saw Benjamin Peckham at sd Point the sd sixth day of November & several days afterward. The Deponent futher saith that on sd sixth day of Nov^r I saw at sd point Jacob & Pharoah two Negro men belonging

to Carder Hazard of said Town Esq^r & the next day saw at sd Point sd Jacob & Pharaoh & another Negro man called Quaco belonging to sd Carder Hazard & see them all that day & several days afterwards at work there in helping to unload sd ships. Martin Murphy."

These depositions are both undated but, as one is endorsed "Martin Murphy's Evidence," they probably related to one of the several actions resulting from the capture; one being a libel⁴ on behalf of the captors (Dyre, Sands, etc., of the Second Regiment of the Kings County Militia).

The landing of the prisoners was completed without interruption and they were sent to Providence under escort, a small number being later transferred to Newport for exchange.⁵ On December 26, 1777, Captain Furneaux was granted a parole and was ordered sent to the house of Peleg Arnold in Smithfield but this order was later changed and he was sent to the house of Daniel Mowrey in the same town. He was allowed a radius of five miles so that his parole was little more than a lenient imprisonment.⁶

The unloading of the supplies and gear took a longer time and in the meantime, word having been received by the British, four ships had been despatched from Newport. Upon their arrival several boats were put off containing a demolition party. This party were successful in laying and firing charges on board the *Syren*. A passage from the Journal of Bartholomew James—later Rear Admiral—gives the following account of this action:⁷

"On the following day I brought her (the tender 'Lady Parker') out of the harbour (Newport), and was directed to proceed to sea in her company with his Majesty's ships Flora,

⁴Providence Gasette, November 15, 1777. Case was to be tried first Monday in December in South Kingstown.

⁵Letter from Pelham Winslow to Edward Winslow, Jr., Mass. Hist. Coll., Second Series, Vol. II, p. 237.

⁶Original in the R. I. H. S. M., Vol. XIII, p. 27.

⁷The Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James (1752-1828), London, Navy Records Society, 1896.

Lark and Pigot tender, and go to the assistance of the Syren frigate, who, with a transport, had run on shore on Point Judith, and whose people were made prisoners by the rebels.

"At ten o'clock in the night the two frigates anchored about two miles off the shore, and the rebels commenced a fire on us from three eighteen pounders. Four boats were then manned and equipped with combustibles, under the first lieutenant of the Chatham, who was sent to command the second boat, the second lieutenant of the Lark the third, and myself the fourth. We left the ships at eleven o'clock and rowed towards the Syren, amidst a heavy fire from the enemy of cannon and musketry, and found a heavy sea running alongside of her, that her masts were made a stage to walk from the ship on shore, and that they had got out a quantity of her stores and provisions. In this situation we boarded her, and each of the officers, as directed by the admiral, carried his basket of combustibles into the ship and fired her in different places; though our retreat was necessarily so precipitate, that we were obliged to get into the first boat we could find and put off with all speed, as the fire had communicated to her guns, which were then going off both sides; and we completely destroyed her without any accident, but that of the first lieutenant of the Flora, whose face and hands were much burnt by the explosion of the combustibles."

The confident statement made by James that the Syren was completely destroyed, would appear to be an exaggeration on his part. No record of such destruction can be found outside of the extract from his Journal as is here quoted. In the proceedings of the General Assembly, South Kingstown, March 9, 1778, in which the Syren was taxed £470 8s 9d to meet the bill of costs of the libel action in the maritime court, no reference is made of her having been completely destroyed.⁸

That it was a difficult matter to collect this tax, which was to be charged against the proceeds received by the captors from the sale of the ships and supplies, is evidenced by the consider-

⁸Records of the State of Rhode Island, Bartlett, Vol. VIII, p. 373.

able number of resolves passed in the General Assembly,⁹ many of the "purchasors" being successful in concealing their identity.

Among the numerous statements presented for payment against the captors, one is of special interest.¹⁰ It is from Isaac Pearce for "carrying the Eighteen Pounder from Christopher Robinsons¹¹ to North Kingston." The distance was about ten miles and twenty-two oxen were used, probably in relays. The route was by Samuel Watson's.

This eighteen pounder was one of the three pieces originally allotted by the General Assembly to the battery at Point Judith, but later a further order replaced it at Wickford where it successfully defended the town.¹² It has been stated that this gun took part in the actual capture of the Syren.¹³ This would appear doubtful; as allowing for the time required for the alarm to reach Wickford, the repair to the piece (made necessary by a Tory act) and the slow method of transportation, it is probable that it did not reach Point Judith until late in the day. It was, however, undoubtedly one of the three eighteen pounders that subjected James and his party to "a heavy fire."

⁹Idem. Vol. VIII, pp. 400 and 455.

¹⁰From the original from the papers of the late E. R. Potter, Esq. of Kingston and now in possession of W. D. Miller. Another statement including items of 139 gallons of rum (for rations) from Col. John Waite, R.I.H.S.M., Vol. XIII, p. 48.

¹¹Son of Gov. William Robinson. His farm was on Point Judith. ¹²Revolutionary Defences in Rhode Island, Field, pp. 119-120. ¹³Idem.

Rev. Samuel Niles evidence regarding the ministerial lands Kingston, R. I. 1739

The Deposition of Samuel Niles formerly of Kingston in the Colony of Rhod-Island and now of Braintree in the County of Suffolk in his Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Clerk Testifyeth that in or about the year of our Lord 1702 He Came by the Invitation of Several well Disposed Gentlemen and other persons at the abovesd Kingston to preach the gospel among them and that Soon after his Entring up on the work of the Ministry there He was put into the possession of the Tract of Land known by the Name of the Ministerial land in Kingston. By Mr Thomas Mumford Deceased one of the Propriater of the Pettasquamscut purchase without any motion made to him by the Said Deponent which he did by the Advice of his partners in said purchase and on their behalf as well as his own (as He Enformed him then) As that which properly belonged to Him the Said Niles Since it had been laid out and Devoted by the proprieter abovesd to the Use of the Ministry in Said Kingston in the Presbiterian or Congregational way and as He was Now Come among them to preach the Gospel and was a professor of that way of worship for the Support of which it was designed the Improvement of the Said Ministerial Land properly belonged to him the Said Niles dureing his Continuance among them Therfore Soon after the Said Deponent Entered upon The Ministry there the Said Mr Mumford went with the Said Niles and Showed him the bounds of the Said Ministerial Lands on the East and on the South part which as he Said Consisted of Three hundred acres He also then pointed at the North Bounds which as he Said ran over the plaine to a Branch of the Cedar Swamp and to the great fresh pond in the west then known by the Name of Wordens pond. Some time after the Deponent was Informed that Mr Henry Gardner had fenced in a part of the Said Ministerial Land with his own adjoyning thereto in the North part on the before mentioned plaine which when the Deponent was Aprised of not

haveing a particular knowledge of the line on that part Told M^r Gardner that it was reported by Some that He had fenced of a part of the Ministerial Lands but He Said he had not fenced beyond his Line as he Supposed However He then promised if it was found to be So when the Line Came to be run and Settled He would throw it out of his Improvement and also Said He wou^d by no means Lessen the Interest of the Ministerial Lands The Deponent not distrusting His fidelity who always had been and Continued to be a Constant attender on his Ministry and promotor of the Gospel the whole time of the Deponents Continuance in Kingston The Said M^r Gardner haveing also ever treated him the Said Deponent with a becoming Civility did not proceed farther therein

And farther the Deponent Saith That altho The Rev^{ed} M^r Bridge a Minister of the Church of England or Episcopal order preached for a Length of time in the abovesd Kingstown at the Same time that the Deponent preached there. Yet he Never heard that he knows of that Either M^r Bridge or any other person on his behalf or for the life of the Church of England made demand thereon or any part thereof and that the Deponent Improved the Said Lands freely without the least Molestation all the Inhabitants Joyntly Concuring therein as that which Answered its true and genuine designe of that Donation.

The Deponent also Saith that He moveing from Kingston Leased or let by a verbal agreement the Said Ministerial Lands to Edward Mott and James Bundy Both of Kingston afore^{sd} Since Deceased as a Trustee to whome the Care of the above^{sd} Interest was Committed after which in the year 1714 the abovesd James Bundy became bound by a bond under his hand seale to Deliver a quiet and peaceable possession of the Said Tract of Land to the Said Deponent or to any other person or persons Intrusted with the Care and oversight of the Interest aboveSaid

The Deponent also testifyeth that The Honeable Judge Sewall Esq^r The Honeable Jahleel Brenton Esq^r the aforesd M^r Thomas Mumford M^r Benedict Arnold Cap^t Josias Arnold who were the Next Descendants of the first Worthy Donors (Several of

30

them of the beforesd Tract of Land and Most likely to know the Minds of their piously disposed predessors in the Donation by them Designed by whose order together with their Partners the Said Three hundred Acres of Land was layd out Each one of them told him Singly that the Said promises of Land were given and laid out for the life of the Ministry in Kingston According to the Presbyterian or Congregational perswasion or way of worship as practiced in the Churches of New England without any Relation therein had to the Church of England or any of the Episcopal order or perswasion The Deponent farther Saith that when the Said James Bundy was first settleing on the above mentioned Ministerial Land the above named Mr Thomas Mumford Directed him the Said Deponent To whose Care and Improvement the Land was Committed to acquaint the Said Bundy That Unless he promised to hold his possession there for and Under the presbyterian or Congregational right and for that life alone That He the said Deponent should forbid his proceeding thereon which He did accordingly and the Said Bundy then promised to do So And also Said that it was what He Expected and Intended for He always had heard the Land was given for that End and no other which Mr Mumford did (as he Said, for that the oversight of the Said Interest was Committed to him by his fellow propriater. He liveing in the Town and the Nearest to it

Newport

April 2 1739

Samuel Niles Sworn in Court 2nd April 1739 Testr Jas Martin Cler.

Thesd Samuel Niles being interogated upon oath in Court was asked whether he was an Ordained Minister during his Stay at Kingstown or before his Departure from thence Answered No.

Thes^d Samuel Niles further declers That James Bundy by his order during his Stay at Kingstown fenced in some part of the Land in Controversy

> Niles Evidence about Ministerial Land M^r. Sam¹ Nile's Evid XXV Nº. 20 -

Notes

By the bequest of the late Albert L. Calder, 2d, a former member, the Society is to receive one-eighth of the trust estate created by him and payable on the death of his wife and sister.

Mr. Lester W. Tucker of Rutherford, N. J., has presented the Society with some early deeds and indentures, which form a valuable addition to our historical and genealogical records. These documents which cover Northern Rhode Island will be helpful in research work.

Two portraits, the bequest of Miss Emily Bailey Perry, of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, have recently been received by the Society. The portrait of Miss Perry's father, Rev. Gideon Babcock Perry, D.D., LL.D., was painted by Mr. John Pope of New York City in 1859. The Rev. Dr. Perry was born in the old Perry homestead in South Kingston, R. I., October 12, 1800, in the same room in which Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry were born. The other portrait is of Miss Perry's mother, Abby Brown Stewart Perry.

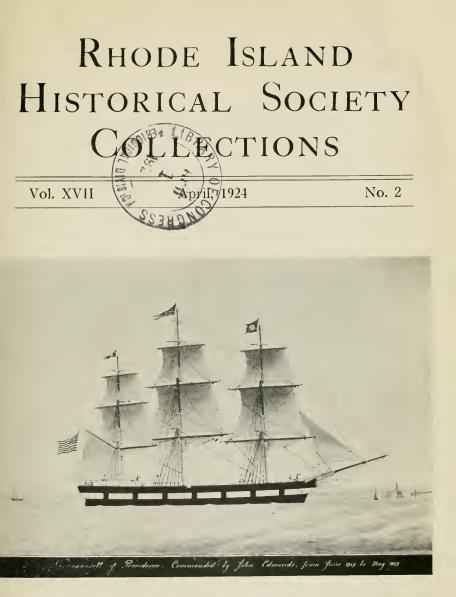
The Society has also received a gift from Mr. Edward M. Harris of two portraits in oil, one of Benjamin Eddy, the other of Mrs. Benjamin Eddy (Sarah James).

Miss Emily S. White presented the Society with some miscellaneous pamphlets, which help to complete our files.

Miss Louisa A. Sweetland has made the Society a present of a picture of the famous Sprague's string-team.

Mr. Clovis H. Bowen of Pawtucket, R. I., Mr. Henry Buker of Providence, and Mr. Ralph C. Estes of Attleboro, Mass., have been elected to membership in the Society.

Dr. George T. Spicer has presented the Society with a copy of "A Supplement to the Descendants of Peter Spicer," containing "Additions and Corrections."



The ship Narragansett of Providence, Capt. John Edmonds. (See v. XVI, p. 20.) From a painting in the possession of Mrs. John G. Edmonds

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RHODE HISTORICAL



ISLAND SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVII	April,	1924	No. 2

HOWARD W. PRESTON, President EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer GEORGE T. SPICER, Secretary HOWARD M. CHAPIN, Librarian

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

William Goddard and Some of his Friends*

By LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

It is not necessary to relate in detail the life of William Goddard to an audience composed mainly of residents of Providence. It is my purpose, therefore, to speak only of those activities of his turbulent early years by reason of which he most deserves to be remembered, and of those services to his nation and to his craft for which in his lifetime he was never paid in money or position and for which in the century since his death, his memory has never received its meed of honor. Almost any military personage of his generation is considered of sufficient

^{*}Read at a meeting held in the John Carter Brown Library on November 22, 1923. For a more extensive treatment of William and Mary Katherine Goddard see the writer's *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1922, pages 119 to 146, in which is given in the notes a list of references to the sources of information drawn upon for facts contained in the sketch presented herewith.

importance to be commemorated in bronze or in marble, but neither in Providence nor elsewhere does there stand a memorial to the man who, single-handed and of his own initiative, established the United States Post Office, and who by the exercise of a sort of divinely foolish courage asserted the right of the newspaper to express itself contrary to the will of the people. Even if these services were not in themselves of sufficient merit to receive our acclamation, there would still remain the fact that this provincial journalist possesses a peculiar attraction for those of us who, like old Thomas Fuller, are delighted with the prospect of man's diversity :-- at times, harsh and cruelly satirical, again, as Isaiah Thomas wrote, "a remarkably pleasant companion," always a vivid and courageous personality, he succeeded in investing his actions with that flavor of the unusual which acts as salt on the tongue of our interest.

After the failure and temporary cessation of his Providence Gazette, William Goddard spent seven busy and unhappy years in Philadelphia as the editor and part owner of the Pennsylvania Chronicle, an experience which resulted in his financial ruin and in an embroilment with his associates which embittered the best years of his life. The story of his Philadelphia period, as related by him in that remarkable pamphlet, The Partnership, is something that we are content to forget, for after all, in spite of the ill usage which he met with at the hands of his pious associates, his own lack of restraint in the conduct of his affairs at this time appreciably cools the sympathy which we should extend in like case to one who had better learned to control his spirit. A very young man, smarting from his wounds, harassed by debt and difficulty, he waged his battle with so much passion, with such premeditated design to humiliate as well as to wound his enemies, that we turn with relief from the unpleasant struggle. The capacity for hatred which he displayed at this time had been perceived as one of his faults and reproved as such early in his Philadelphia sojourn by his wise and gentle mother. Writing to him from Providence, where she was carrying on his printing office in partnership with John Carter, the

young printer whom he had sent to her assistance, Sarah Goddard warned her son against expending his strength in controversy. Her words are worth repeating. "Oh, my son, my only son," she wrote, "hearken to wisdom before it is too late. . . . I heartily wish it was within the reach of my faint efforts to convey to you what threescore and almost ten years of experience has taught me, of the meer nothingness of all you are disputing about . . . remember, we are not under the Old Law of Retaliation, an eye for an eye for ever blessed be our gracious Redeemer who has abrogated it, and substituted a much more glorious one in its place, no less than the law of universal love." At a later time, when the struggle with his partners was at its hottest stage, this devoted woman spent in his support not only her intelligent efforts, but as well her small fortune, including even her dower rights in her husband's estate. Not the least valuable of her benefactions to him at this time, however, was the advice which he failed to heed, her insistence that he leave off pursuing shadows with the flaming sword of archangelic vengeance.

Now here is one of those ironies which life presents to us. If William Goddard had listened to his mother's affectionate counsel and so had given over beating the wind, his exceptional abilities as printer and editor would have carried him to high positions of influence and even of wealth, but on the other hand, had he acquired earlier the mastery of his spirit, it is unlikely that he would have accomplished those things for which we are praising him tonight, for when the hard white flame of his rage, which seemed ignoble in a private quarrel, was turned against the public enemy, it achieved for the good of the nation results which could not so quickly have been attained by the sweet reasonableness of gentler mannered men.

Leaving Philadelphia in the early months of 1773, Goddard removed to Baltimore, where on the capital of "a single solitary guinea," as he afterwards said, he established a printing office and began to issue the first newspaper to attain publication in a city just then reaching urban proportions. He promised himself and his public at this time to settle down to the

regular exercise of his functions as printer and editor, a business in the performance of which he had few equals on the continent, but fortunately for the nation he failed to fulfill this promise until many years later. After a few months of desultory attention to business he turned the establishment over to his sister, Miss Mary Katherine Goddard, and set forth on a series of journeys, undertaken, as he wrote, in the interest of "the common liberties of all America." The project which now absorbed him was the formation of the postal system from which the present United States Post Office derives its origin.

Intended in its inception simply as a private line of riders between Philadelphia and Baltimore, the plan began to enlarge itself in Goddard's mind until it became national in its scope. Since early youth he had been accumulating indignation against the British Colonial Post Office, and now that he had taken the field against it, he found that nothing would satsify him except to render the country independent of its operations by providing in its place an equally well organized and an equally far reaching private line of his own making. Many and vigorous were his fulminations against the established system and its officials. From town to town he journeyed, advertising his proposals in the newspapers in terms unflattering to the existing organization. Hard upon the appearance of his manifesto, he would pass his subscription paper among a citizenry not always sympathetic to his designs. That he was able to overcome apathy as well as opposition bespeaks him a man of force as well as of intelligence. The story of his effort, and of its successful result, forms one of those wonder tales of the national beginnings which has not yet found its historian. In the short period of a year the "Constitutional Post Office," as it was officially styled, or "Goddard's Post Offices" as the new system was popularly called, was in operation side by side with the British Colonial Post Office from Massachusetts to Virginia. In July, 1775, the Continental Congress took over the organization as the official system of the United Colonies, and on Christmas Day, a fortnight after Maryland and Pennsylvania had forbidden the further passage of the British post through their domains, the ministerial system withdrew its riders from the roads.

The founder of the new post office, unfortunately, was not permitted to gather the fruits of vcitory. At the head of the organization, the Congress placed Benjamin Franklin, and to the new postmaster general's nephew went the desirable office of secretary and comptroller. To Goddard was given the laborious and relatively unimportant position of Surveyor of the Post Office, and concealing his disappointment like a good fellow, he performed for a year without complaint the exacting and inglorious duties of his post. At the end of that period he resigned his office and petitioned Congress for a commission in the military service of the country commensurate with his merit. In his memorial, he informed the delegates that he might ask with propriety for the office of "muster-master-general," a position in which, he affirmed with charming simplicity, he would be able to repay himself the monies which he had expended in the formation of the postal system turned over to them a year earlier. He rejected with disdain, however, the thought of this post, because, to use his own words, it rendered him "less liable to those personal dangers which his natural disposition impels him to encounter," and instead of a sinecure, he asked that he might be given a commission as a lieutenant colonel in either one of two regiments of the line in which changes were about to be made. Referred to General Washington by the Board of War, the petition came back with the notation that the induction of Mr. Goddard "into the army as Lieutt. Colo. would be attended with endless confusion." From the context of the note, it is almost certain that in opposing Goddard's appointment, his Excellency was opposing not the individual case but the practise of appointing civilians to high rank in the military establishment.

At this point in the story of William Goddard it is becoming to speak briefly of two of those friends with whom he was most intimately associated during these years of struggle and of discouragement. The qualities of his mother, Sarah Updike Goddard, the daughter of Lodowick Updike of Wickford, Rhode Island, have been suggested by a quotation from one of her letters. It was to her financial assistance and to her active practical aid that he owed his ability to establish himself in Providence, and later to maintain his Philadelphia business for four years after the support of his partners had been withdrawn from the venture. A resolute and calm woman, one suspects that beneath her restraint there smouldered some of that fire which burned so waywardly in her son. Something of a mystic in her profound religious certainty, she yet possessed that clearheadedness and sanity in the ordinary affairs of life which frequently is the mystic's portion in this inexplicable world. Of her love for this only son, her actions tell; it is pleasant to be assured of his affection for her. In a letter written a few weeks before her death, she pledged herself to unremitting attention to his interests, "in return," she wrote, "for the love and compassion you have manifested for your ancient and tender mother." There is always danger in attributing the characteristics of a community to its separate members, but one may be permitted to think that the individualism which characterized William Goddard's progress through a troubled period of his own and of his country's life was not the least of his inheritances from this Rhode Island gentlewoman.

William Goddard was fortunate in the women folk of his family. Devotion from a mother is of the nature of things expected, but not every one is so happy as to have a sister willing to carry on a mother's unquestioning service and at the same time capable of giving expert professional assistance and of completely submerging her own personality. Miss Mary Katherine Goddard was one of the most conspicuously useful women of her generation in the public life of the nation. The few brief newspaper writings which bear her name, articles in most cases published in defense of her brother, give no index to her character, for the simple reason that these productions were almost certainly dictated, if not actually written, by that gentleman himself. Indeed the rays of her personality are so absorbed by his greater light that she remains for us a figure of uncertain outline. The known facts of her life, however, are

such as to permit us a somewhat prodigal use of adjectives, as when we say, for example, that she was an expert practical printer, a skillful newspaper editor, a dauntless woman in the face of difficulties, and a loyal, self-effacing servant and partner to her brother. Left in control of the Maryland Journal as the War of the Revolution was about to begin, she conducted her paper through the most difficult period which the American journalist has ever known almost without missing an issue, and attained for it during that period a circulation which she affirmed was as extensive as that of any newspaper in the colonies. At the termination of the War, when she might have begun to look forward to easier times, her brother came into a sum of money sufficient to enable him to resume the publication in his own name. Throughout the same period she acted as postmistress of Baltimore, a position which she held until, by a change in the organization of the department she was deprived, not quite justly, it seems, of the office which she had conducted often by the outlay of her own money. A strong, busy, self-contained woman, down through the years no word has come from her as to what she thought of it all. It is doubtful if even her immediate associates knew her feelings, unless perhaps she revealed herself to that faithful black woman under whose care she lived out her lonely days until her death in Baltimore in the year 1816. In the old burial ground of St. Paul's Parish in that city lies the body of this New England woman who served her adopted Maryland in a way and to a degree that no woman of the period served another American community.

After William Goddard's failure to obtain a commission in the army, he returned to Baltimore, where he seems to have resumed in part his interest in the *Maryland Journal*, although the paper continued to be published in his sister's name. Things went quietly enough with him until, in February, 1777, he caused to be published in the *Maryland Journal* two articles on the subject of the recent peace tenders of the British ministry. One of these, signed "Tom-Tell Truth," in a vein of the most obvious satire, advised the acceptance by the Americans of the proffered terms of peace; the other, signed "Caveto," spoke

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warningly of the danger which lay even in appearing to consider them. Both of the articles were written by Samuel Chase, a signer for Maryland of the Declaration of Independence, a member at this time of the Maryland Assembly, and a personage later famous as an impeached judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Wherever he went, William Goddard seems to have possessed a proclivity for associating either as friend or as enemy with strong minded men, and now we find him on terms of friendship with this old Roman who in later years was to be known as an "obstinate and bitterly prejudiced old Federalist," and who like his friend, Luther Martin, the "Federal Bull Dog," was "never known to be neutral in anything."

On the appearance of Chase's two articles in the Maryland Journal, an organization of Baltimore zealots demanded of Goddard that he disclose to them the identity of "Tom-Tell Truth," but our journalist had the merit of being as loval in his friendships as he was unrelenting in his enmities, and his disinclination to discover the name of Chase was increased by the fact that this gentleman was not at hand to defend himself against the stupidity of those who had failed to understand his satirical article. The events which followed the demand of the Whig Club on Goddard were swift, and in their consequences for the aggressors they were something less than pleasant. When Goddard ridiculed these self-appointed censors of his press, their resentment led them to order his immediate departure from the city. To their pleased astonishment, doubtless, he obeyed literally their edict, but satisfaction was turned to discomfiture when they learned that he had chosen Annapolis as his place of exile, and that he had gone thither bearing in his hand a vigorous memorial to the Legislature. In this protest, their victim affirmed that thinking himself "bound in honor not to suffer the secrets of his press to be extorted from him in a tumultuous way," he had refused the demands of the Whig Club, and that in consequence of his refusal he had been treated by its members "with circumstances of indignity and insult, not to be patiently endured by a freeman possessed of a spark of honor



WILLIAM GODDARD

From an oil portrait by James Frothingham now in the Shepley Library

PRINTING-OFFICE, PROVIDENCE, August 31, 1762.

TO THE PUBLICK.

A S S S S the Colony of *Riede-liked* from its first Infitution to this prefert Time, has been remarkable for maintaining the Spirit of true *Bnir/b* Liberry by which there is the frequently proved a Refuge and Atlantages of their Nother Country, prefer d this Colony action many others for their freedb inhuburgence to Strangers or every Denomination of Christians that choic to tetle among them, by which judicious Conduct, they are become a fourishing People, and in which the Town of *Prevalence* (heing the first fetted Place in the Colony) has no inconiderable Stare; to the Inhabitants of which, I in a more drived and the analysis of the start Approbation of the Publick's And Fake this Method to block the Pavour of the Innovation of the Querter of Colony, as a from the fame generous Difforition they have thewn to young Beginners of oth of Ou-pations, I flatter myler I shall find hencouragement answerable to my Expectations. And I bug Lelow to affine the Publick, that as far as I am engaged in their Service Thail use my utmott Endeavours is free the two did I dely and lategrity; and if by my Affidoiry and Care, I shall be for happy as to obtain their Filters, by an impartal Conduct, I shall think my Time well beflow d, s1 am dicervaned to avoid east mg into the Schemes of any Party Lending citaer to religious or political Controverty for far as it might prevent my affing with the thridge Julice.

As every Branch of uleful Knowledge, both pf a religious and civil Nature, is abundanily diffa 'd by Me us o' the Freedom of the Prets, I hope is will induce Gentlemen of Learning and Feruity to contribute a few of their letter Hours in writing tonic public-fpirited Effays, for the Caudio Virtue, ethologing at in beautiful Colours, and painting Vice in all its odious Deformity, which will render their Efferts beneficial to the lateft Pollerity, by which Method they will foon perceive, the Utility of a Printing Prets- For I verily believe there is not arother Town in New Fagland, of its Extent in Trade and Commerce, that remains watch of for loceflary and uterial a Callage. All thefe Confidera-tions give me great Reaion to hope, that not only the Gentlemen of Providence, but all the advance Towns, will, with a kind and good-natural Reception, affut Ture Priorita.

Greedman of Laker, A soon as pollible after my Affairs are in fome Meafure fettled, and V are effablished in my Bofinefs, Tyrror JOURN LL, to be published every *Weinefaby* Morning, and to contain every they make use, both *bergap* and *Doerska*, for which Purpois, I have established an extensive Correspon-tory of the theory of the start of the transfer of the transfer of the transfer of the start of the Kind. The Price will be one Starts Starting and to contain every they are equivalent in Correct of the Kind. The Price will be one Starts Starting Starting

William Goddard.

Broadside Announcement of the Establishment of Goddard's Printing Office in Providence and his proposals for a newspaper

The original is in the Shepley Library

WILLIAM GODDARD AND SOME OF HIS FRIENDS

or sensibility." No man was happier than William Goddard in the composition of memorials and of petitions. In its reply to this example of his stately rhetoric, the Committee of Grievances of the Lower House reported to the Assembly that the action of the Whig Club was "a manifest violation of the Constitution" of Maryland, and "directly contrary to the Declaration of Rights," a result with which the ordinary mortal would have been satisfied. But it was not so with Goddard. Once more he had found an opponent worthy of his flaming sword, and when the Whig Club issued a mild explanation of its conduct, Goddard replied to their overtures with a pamphlet entitled "The Prowess of the Whig Club," in which after cutting deep into the self-esteem of his enemies, he peppered their wounds with derision. As a reply to this document, the Whig Club reimposed the sentence of banishment, and as might have been foreseen, Goddard went a second time to Annapolis and the Legislature. On this occasion, Samuel Chase, the author of his troubles, assumed charge of the case for the liberty of the press. It was conducted by him with such effect that the leaders of the Whig Club were summonsed from Baltimore and compelled at the bar of the House to apologize for their turbulent actions to the Sovereign People of Maryland. The performance of this ceremony constituted a complete victory for Goddard and a practical test of that clause in the Maryland Declaration of Rights which affirmed that "the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved."

One would suppose that after this experience, in spite of his justification by the highest authority of the State, Goddard would have been slow a second time to risk the popular wrath, but again the claims of friendship and his own conception of the right of individual judgment brought him into rough contact with the populace. In June, 1779, he formed a partnership for the prosecution of the printing business with Eleazer Oswald, leaving his sister apparently in undisturbed control of the newspaper. If Miss Goddard fancied for a moment, however, that she was to be free of his dangerous participation in her affairs, she was soon to learn her error.

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Eleazer Oswald, the newly constituted partner of William Goddard, was born about the year 1755 in Falmouth, England, the son of a ship captain in the Jamaica trade. Coming to America in the year 1770 with a good education and little else, he entered the printing establishment of John Holt, gained the affection of his master, and before long to the obvious satisfaction of that worthy printer, married the daughter of the house. At the first news of Lexington, he enlisted in the army and fought with distinction at Ticonderoga, and at Quebec, whither he went as a volunteer, acting as Arnold's personal secretary. In later campaigns he won the commendation of General Knox and the love of General Charles Lee. When Lee was cashiered after Monmouth, Oswald retired from the service in disgust and betook himself to Baltimore where he joined in the printing business with Goddard, whom he must have become acquainted with through their common friend, John Holt. Later, he removed to Philadelphia, and there, for a number of years, he engaged successfully in the business of printing and publishing. Like others of Goddard's friends, he was exceedingly high strung. He challenged Alexander Hamilton to a duel which was averted only by an agreement of the seconds. He sent a challenge to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, which that worthy felt himself justified in ignoring. In a duel which he fought with Mathew Carey, his fire took such effect that the Philadelphia publisher walked with a limp for the remainder of his days. In 1792, he joined the service of the French National Convention and fought, it is said, with distinction under Dumoriez at Jemmapes. Afterwards, at the behest of the Convention, he went to Ireland for the purpose of preparing the way for the French invasion, but meeting there with failure in his mission he soon afterwards returned to New York, where in the year 1795, he died of yellow fever. A picturesque and a lovable person, but certainly something of a ruffler, he was not the best associate for the excitable Goddard.

After his court-martial, Charles Lee sought a medium of publicity through which he could state his case to the American people. In June, 1779, he wrote to Goddard, with whom he

seems previously to have been acquainted, and after remarking upon the reputation which his newspapers bore for impartiality, asked him to print the defense which he was engaged at that time in preparing. With Oswald as his partner, Goddard's consent was quickly forthcoming, and on July 6, 1779, the notorious piece, "Some Queries, Political and Military," with its only half concealed malice toward Washington, was published in the Maryland Journal, an occurrence which once more procured Goddard the questionable distinction of a visit from the mob. He was requested to meet the next morning certain officers and citizens of the town to explain the publication and to divulge its authorship. An unfriendly witness wrote to Governor Thomas Johnson that "early in the morning (of the meeting) Goddard was seen parading the streets with a gun and his friend Coll. Oswald with a drawn Sword, venting his spleen in the most abusive language. . . ." Such conduct did little to conciliate the indignant townspeople, and in order to save his house from pillage and himself from being carted through the streets with a rope around his neck by an aggregation which he described as a "band of ruffians, composed of Continental recruits, mulattoes, or negroes, fifers and drummers," Goddard signed and printed as a supplement to the last issue of the Maryland Journal a paper containing, to use his own words again, "the most ridiculous and absurd concessions." In the inevitable memorial which he now presented to the Governor, he declared that he was being persecuted because of his stand for the liberty of the press, that he had printed the "Queries" in pursuance of a conviction that it was his duty to help in the vindication of the character of General Charles Lee, a gentleman and a patriot to whom he believed a great injustice had been done by the recent court martial proceedings. To one whom he met on the Annapolis road at the time of his third rush to sanctuary, he expressed himself with his usual vigor when he vowed that he would get the redress denied him by the "rascally magistrates of Baltimore" if he had to go to the ends of the earth for it. Fortunately he was spared a longer journey for this purpose than that on which he was at the moment engaged, for again, and for the

third time, his case was upheld by the Maryland authorities, and once more as the result of this consummation, Goddard may be thought of as having vindicated the right of free discussion by the public press. The last word in the battle was his retraction in the *Maryland Journal* of the apology which a week earlier he had made under the compulsion of the mob. That he possessed the hardihood on these two occasions to support his friends and to affirm in the face of popular displeasure a principle which now is accepted as a convention in all civilized communities, is a claim on our interest and on our gratitude, and that the Maryland Legislature twice justified his stand in the face of popular disapproval is evidence of an integrity which is not as common among elective bodies in practice as it is intended to be in theory.

Whether or not Charles Lee was the traitor which we have been taught to believe him is a question which does not need to be decided or even to be discussed tonight. If we can forget this ugly stain on his reputation long enough to regard him dispassionately, we perceive that he was one of the most picturesque figures that has ever taken part in our national life. and what is of more immediate importance to us in considering him as an associate of William Goddard is the fact that he was not lacking in gratitude to the man who had risked everything in his service. In later years, in a letter to Mary Katherine Goddard, he acknowledged his debt in handsome terms: "Upon my soul," he wrote, "I love (and I ought to love) your Brother and Oswald more than any other two men on this Continent." When he died in 1783, he left to Goddard and to Oswald jointly, as a recognition of their efforts in his behalf, a large tract of western lands on which his sister paid such amounts as were required to place them unencumbered in the possession of his defenders. With the proceeds of the sale of his portion of the lands, Goddard was enabled to reinstate himself as proprietor of the Maryland Journal, and with various changes of partnership he continued to conduct his excellent newspaper in the town which once in his wrath he had described as "a Theatre of Anarchy and Licentiousness" until his final

departure from it in the year 1792. His last partner and his successor in the ownership of the newspaper was his brotherin-law, James Angell of Providence. In the year 1786, he had been married to a daughter of General James Angell of this city.

In the incidents which have been related here, William Goddard is presented to us as a man who possessed the courage to stand up for his principles against that most subtle form of attack, the disapproval of one's neighbors. One cannot doubt the passion which underlay his pronouncements concerning the liberty of the press; one must admire the hardihood with which he risked life, limb and happiness by giving himself to the vindication of General Charles Lee. Because of these incidents, he has been described by several writers as "Goddard the Tory," but when his utterances are read, the policy of his newspapers considered, his services in the establishment of the Post Office taken account of, one may not doubt his devotion to the American cause in the War of the Revolution. The Maryland Council of Safety, always ready to imprison or to banish the enemies of that cause, twice took sides against those who had attacked him. The Maryland Assembly put his enemies to inglorious rout. In all of the official proceedings which remain in connection with his several contacts with the state and national governments, there is no hint of an accusation of disloyalty against him, and his request that the Board of War appoint him to a post of danger speaks for the quality of his devotion in a manner more audible than the loudest asseverations of loyalty.

Goddard's farewell address to his fellow citizens of Baltimore reminds us of nothing so much as of those flowers which in the kindly spring cover the disorder of last year's battlefield. After relating with his customary frankness the financial difficulties which were leading him to dispose of his prosperous establishment, he concluded his valedictory with a shower of compliments and polite good wishes.

"Though there was a Moment," he wrote, "when political Discussions produced a Degree of Animosity and Resentment repugnant to my Feelings and injurious to my Interest, yet I reflect with inexpressible satisfaction, that succeeding liberality and Candour soon obliterated the Remembrance, and that I shall now leave this Town in perfect Friendship and Harmony with my Fellow-Citizens—ardently wishing them a Continuance of that prosperity I have for so many Years witnessed, in the rapid Rise of this opulent Town, with equal Admiration and Delight."

Goddard had determined to "cultivate his garden"; "contentment walks the unambitious plain," he wrote, and weary with his struggle he retired to his wife's farm in Rhode Island, where as "William Goddard of Johnston, yeoman," he lived peacefully another twenty-four years. He served in the Rhode Island Legislature for a short time, but in general his interests were those of his farm and of his village. He died, aged seventy-seven years, in December, 1817. Isaiah Thomas, who knew him well in these later years, speaks of his "naïveté, and the pleasantness and facetiousness of his disposition." One likes to take leave of him, unvexed and comfortable in his Rhode Island retreat, after so much distress of mind and so many exertions of body gone through with in his years of exile from the land of his deepest attachment.

Hope as the State's Motto

We have of late had several inquiries in regard to the origin of the state's motto. The first official recognition of the use of Hope as the motto of Rhode Island was in 1664 (R. I. Col. Rec. vol. II, p. 41). The anchor had been officially adopted as the colony's device in 1647 (R. I. Col. Rec. vol. I, p. 151), and the biblical association of Hope with the anchor—"which hope we have as an anchor of the soul" (Heb. 6, 19)—doubtless led the early settlers of Rhode Island, men well acquainted with the wording of the old Testament, to adopt *Hope* as the motto. If the seals used by John Greene (R. I. H. S. C. XV:103) and

NOTES

Benedict Arnold (R. I. H. S. C. XV:102) were discarded colony seals, as has been suggested, the use of *Hope* as a motto would go back to very early times, for John Greene used this seal as early as 1659. For further information on this subject, see Chapin's "The Seal, the Arms and the Flag of Rhode Island" and "Book Notes," vol. XXXI, p. 203, vol. XX, p. 26.

Notes

A NOTABLE CHANGE.

One of the most notable changes that has occurred during the past ten years is the increased use of the Society's library by college students. When the present librarian took up his duties here about a decade ago, a visit of the Professor of American History to the library was an unusual sight, and the use of the library by college students was almost unknown. Professor Sioussat, during his connection with Brown University, brought the History Department into closer touch with the Society, but it remained for Professor Crane to develop an extensive use of the Society's treasures by history students. Professor Crane aroused and encouraged the interest of college men (and women) in the field of American history, and has inspired several to undertake original research in the fascinating and largely unexplored field of eighteenth century American development. These students now visit the library often and stay long, delving into our extensive files of old newspapers and deciphering the sometimes intricate hand writing of our valuable manuscripts. The traditions of the "Golden Age" of Professor Jameson's days in Providence have been revivified by Professor Crane, so that the students of the College on the Hill have entered upon a renaissance of historical activity and research.

The Newport Historical Society Bulletin for January contains a paper entitled "Historic Types of Newport Houses" by Mrs. William W. Covell.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Further Letters on King Philip's War" is the title of the booklet issued by the Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island at its "December Court." The aim of these publications is to make accessible in print historical material that has not previously been printed. One of these letters is of particular interest locally, as it gives the exact number of houses in Providence that were burned by the Indians in King Philip's War.

Commodore Matthew C. Perry was born¹ in Newport and not in South Kingston, as is stated on page 32 of our last issue. The sentence beginning "The portrait" and ending with the words "Stewart Perry" should have been included in quotation marks as it was a copy of the account which accompanied the portrait. It was the tradition in that branch of the family and should have been so stated.

Miss Margaret Bingham Stillwell's pleasing biographical picture of General Rush C. Hawkins, which was printed in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, has been reprinted as a separate.

A typewritten genealogy of the Tillinghast family, 126 pages, has been presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Tillinghast Straight, and will be of great use to genealogists interested in that family.

¹Cf. Points of Historical Interest in the State of Rhode Island, pages 60 and 73.

Report of the Treasurer

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1923.

Edward K. Aldrich, Jr., *Treasurer, in account with the* Rhode Island Historical Society. For current account, viz.:

Dr.

CASH ON HAND January 1, 1923

" R	hode Isla	e Institution for Savings and Hospital Trust Company Bank of Commerce (Special Account	\$439 287			
		1)	1,775	58		
" Na	ational l	Bank of Commerce (Special Account				
		3)	2,824			
" N:	ational B	Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	270			
" N:	ational E	Exchange Bank	202	86		
Check	cś		130	00		
		-			\$5,929 91	
Recei	ots from	Annual Dues	\$1.980	60		
"	"	Books	20			
"	"	Expense Account (Refunds)	2	00		
66	**	Interest and Dividends (including				
		\$16.64 from 1922)	4.097	52		
**	"	Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	.,			
		Interest	29	66		
"	"	Investments	1,272			
66	66	Life Membership (F. J. Wilder; Eliza	-,			
		T. Newton)	100	00		
"	"	Newspaper Account	332			
44	68	Publications	134			
66	66	Rental of Rooms	24			
"	"	Special Account No. 1	349			
"	66	Special Account No. 3 (Library Sale)	387			
66	**	Supplies		50		
**	"	State Appropriation	1,375			
"	"		1,075	00		
		Request of Robert P. Brown (Publi- cation Fund)	2,000	00		
			2,000		12,107 89	
					,	

\$18,037 80

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Cr.

Annual Dues	50
Ashes	60 50
Binding	175 67
Books	569 08
Electric Lighting	14 58
Exhibitions	191 21
Expenses	163 43
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	17 00
Fuel	497 03
Gas	8 76
Grounds and Building	254 97
Insurance	225 00
Interest	179 27
Investments	4,214 02
Janitorial Services	412 20
Publications	729 39
Salaries	3,786 00
Special Account No. 1	532 19
Special Account No. 3	183 87
Supplies	301 62
Telephone	60 87
Water	8 00
Newspaper Account	351 59
-	\$12,936 75

CASH ON HAND December 31, 1923

In	National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	\$412 95	
**	National Bank of Commerce (Special Account		
	No. 1)	1,593 16	
**	National Bank of Commerce (Special Account		
	No. 3—Library Sale)	16 13	
66	National Bank of Commerce (Investment		
	Account)	58 40	
**	Bonds of Government of Dominion of Canada-		
	(Special Account No. 3-Library Sale)	3,012 41	
66	Check and Money	8 00	
			5,101 05

\$18,037 80

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island Historical Society.

JANUARY 1, 1924.

LIABILITIES.

Grounds and Building	\$25,000	00
Permanent Endowment Fund:		
Samuel M. Noyes\$12,000 00)	
Henry J. Steere 10,000 00)	
James H. Bugbee)	
Charles H. Smith 5,000 00)	
Charles W. Parsons 4,000 00)	
William H. Potter 3,000 00)	
Esek A. Jillson 2,000 00)	
John Wilson Smith 1,000 00)	
William G. Weld 1,000 00)	
Charles C. Hoskins 1,000 00)	
Charles H. Atwood 1,000 00)	
	\$46,000	00
Publication Fund:		
Robert P. Brown		
Ira B. Peck		
William Gammell		
Albert J. Jones		
William Ely		
Julia Bullock		
Charles H. Smith		
		00
Life Membership Fund		
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	734	
Special Account No. 1 (National Bank of Commerce)	1,593	16
Special Account No. 3 (Library Sale) (National Bank of		
Commerce)	16	13
Special Account No. 3 (Library Sale) (In Bonds of Govern-		
ment of Dominion of Canada)	3,012	41
-	+07.000	
	\$87,806	
Accumulated Surplus	10,594	80
	\$98,401	08

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Assets.

Investments:

	Grounds and Building		\$25,000	00
	\$5.000.00 Bonds, The New York Edison Com-			
	pany, 6½'s, 1941	\$5,447	85	
	\$4,000.00 Bonds, Cedar Rapids Manufacturing &			
	Power Company, 5's, 1953	3,228	88	
	\$3,400.00 Liberty Bonds (U. S.) 4th, 41/4, 1st			
	5½'s 1941	2.976	81	
	\$3.000.00 Bonds, Central Manufacturing District	3,000	00	
	\$3,000.00 Bonds, The Cleveland Electric Illumi-			
	nating Company, 1st 51/2's, 1939	2,565	42	
	\$1,000.00 Bond, Commonwealth Edison Company			
	1st 5's, 1943	965	25	
	\$1,000.00 Bond, Denver Gas & Electric Company			
	5½'s, 1949	950	00	
	\$1,000.00 Bond, Columbus Railway, Power &			
	Light Company, 5's, 1940	970	00	
	\$1,000.00 Bond. The Government of the Dominion			
	of Canada, 5%, 1952	991		
	\$1,000.00 Bond, Liberty Bond (U. S.), 2nd, 41/4	956	19	
	\$300.00 Bonds, United Electric Railways Prior	0.21		
	Lien, 4's, 1946	231		
	Mortgage, P. A. and H. A. Cory.	2,975	00	
	Participation Account in Industrial Trust Com-			
	pany, Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	724	50	
125	Shares, New York Central Railroad Company	734		
111	Shares, Pennsylvania Railroad Company	12,500 7,188		
.30	Shares, Lehigh Valley Railroad Company	2,112		
6	Shares, Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company	2,112		
40	Shares, Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light	271	05	
	Company, preferred	3,900	00	
55	Shares, American Telephone & Telegraph Com-	0,200	00	
	pany	7,123	61	
60	Shares, Providence Gas Company	5,005		
30	Shares, Merchants National Bank, Providence	1,800		
45	Shares, Blackstone Canal National Bank, Provi-			
	dence	1,050	00	
6	Shares, Narragansett Electric Lighting Company	335		
10	Shares, Union Tank Car, preferred, 7%	1,050	25	
				13

Cash on hand:

In National Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)	\$412 95
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account	
No. 1)	1,593 16
" National Bank of Commerce (Special Account	
No. 3, Library Sale)	16 13
" National Bank of Commerce (Investment Ac-	
count)	58 40
"Bonds, The Government of the Dominion of	
Canada, 5's, 1952 (Special Account No. 3,	
Library Sale)	3,012 41
Check and Money	8 00
-	\$5,101 05

Respectfully submitted

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr.

Treasurer

Providence, R. I., January 2, 1924.

Examined vouchers and securities compared and found to agree.

HORATIO A. HUNT ARTHUR P. SUMNER HENRY W. SACKETT Auditing Committee

The Memoranda of William Green

Secretary to Vice-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot in the American Revolution

> With introduction and notes by HENRY S. FRASER OF ITHACA, N. Y.

INTRODUCTION

This fragment from the memoirs of William Green is published from a small notebook, the only one of several to survive. It was found by the editor in the possession of Green's descendants now living in Syracuse, N. Y.

William Green, the son of William Green of Yorkshire, England, was born July 22, 1754.¹ Nothing seems to be known of his early life and education. In 1778, after some years of service in the Royal Navy, he was recommended to be the secretary of Rear-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot,² with whom he came to America in 1779 when the latter was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue and given the command of the British fleet on the American station. In addition to the position of secretary, Green was agent victualler for the fleet.³ This post, however, he later resigned,⁴ and was appointed a few weeks afterward (Aug. 29, 1780) to do duty as purser of the *Royal Oak*, Arbuthnot's flagship.⁵

¹The information about William Green in this Introduction has been derived, except where otherwise noted, from family papers in the possession of Messrs. Grant D. Green and Thomas MacGowan of Syracuse, N. Y., and of Captain C. Blunt of Banbury, England.

²See letter, Arbuthnot to Stephens, April 15, 1783. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

⁸C. M. Andrews, Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, II, 57.

⁴Vide infra.

⁵List of promotions under Arbuthnot, Dec. 16, 1780. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

THE MEMORANDA OF WILLIAM GREEN

When the Admiral left America in July, 1781, he took Green to England with him to assist in investigating the public accounts of the station, a deputy being appointed to act during the interval in Green's stead as purser of the *Royal Oak*, which ship remained behind under Graves. While in England in 1783 Green received a letter from Sir Charles Douglas informing him of the desertion of the deputy and the appointment of another purser. In fear for his position Green sought an immediate passage to America to rejoin his ship, or if that were not practicable, to obtain a new appointment on another vessel of the navy.¹ Evidently he was unsuccessful, for in February, 1784, we find him bound to America to take out papers to cover a trading venture to India in his ship the $Hydra.^2$

It was some time before this, after Green had just returned with Arbuthnot from the war, that he was married to Temperance Heatly in London, October 11, 1781. She was the daughter of Andrew Heatly of Newport, R. I., and was born in 1759 or 1760. She had come to England with her mother, *née* Mary Grant, after her father's death, and it was probably there that they first met. In her Green found "an incomparable sweetness of temper and a soul pious, pure, devout, spotless."

After Green had transacted in America the necessary business relative to his projected trip to India, he returned to England to make the final arrangements. The story of the voyage of the Hydra is described in detail in his memoirs, so it will be unnecessary to speak further of it here. Toward the end of the summer of 1786, Green sailed from America, whither he had come on the return voyage of the Hydra, for Ostend as supercargo of the brigantine *Betsey*. He returned to America in the following year.³ In the meantime, although absent in St. Eusta-

¹Arbuthnot to Stephens, April 15, 1783. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

²Vide infra.

⁸W. C. Ford, ed., Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800, II, 277-278, 286, 344. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. X.

tius, he had been naturalized a citizen of the United States (May, 1786).¹

Hoping for further profits in India, Green now undertook in conjunction with Thomas Fitzsimons of Philadelphia to finance a second venture, this time in the *Betsey*, Capt. Edward Kirkby. On this occasion Green elected to remain behind in America, trusting to the honesty of his Calcutta agent. The *Betsey* cleared out at Philadelphia in April, 1788, and sailed at once for India. But Green was destined to disappointment in the outcome of this venture, for instead of the expected profits, he encountered only losses. The cargo and ship were in such poor condition on arriving in the Ganges that the agent decided to sell both, greatly to the dismay of the captain who had engaged to sail the ship back to Philadelphia. The final result of these sales was anything but satisfactory to Green, his share being only 2943 Spanish milled dollars.

This was the beginning of the decline of Green's fortunes. He had purchased extensive tracts of territory on the Mohawk river, and also had a residence in New York City and an estate on Long Island at Flushing. In order to raise money he now mortgaged these lands to Patrick Heatly, his brother-in-law in London. In the latter part of 1798, Green fell into severe straits and was imprisoned for debt for about four years. Better times were in store, however, and some time after his release he removed with his family to his Mohawk lands near Oriskany. Here his wife died November 11, 1822. Green survived her by several years, finally passing away in or about the year 1835.

To the student of history the value of these notes by Green varies in different parts. They seem least valuable to the historian when the author discourses on his family affairs, but these occupy little space. Green is at his best when describing matters pertaining to the war in America; for example, the aftermath of the capture of Charleston in May, 1780; the blockade of the French fleet in the harbor of Newport; the strictures on Rodney; the battle between Arbuthnot and Destouches off Chesapeake

¹Vide infra.

² N. Abfrach of the Cargo of the Ship HYD R A, from *Progel*, of and for *Neaport, Rlodo-I flord*, with liberty to touch at St. *Plandarias, and Triginal,* confitting of Shit-Free, Cinnon n, P. pag, Needer, Yas, Multins of various fibricles and qualities, plan, printed, and emboddered White Cloths, Chintzs, Silk and Corton Stuff, and Cloths, Sattins, Taffartes, White Multh, Handkrechiet, Silk Handkrechiefs, Printed Handkrechiefs, See, See, See, Asto no feb account and rique of CHRISTOPHIER, CUAMPLIN, Edq. of New-Port aforstaid, Mr. WILLIAM GREEN, supracargo.

Mullin gold, filver, and flowered, So pieces, Ferendams, fuperfine, fine, and middling, Feelbady Tanjebs Coffida, 200 pieces, Nyaniook Chindpore, 50 picces, Chintz Doorea Pulta, 50 picces, Terendam Coffi 'a, 100 picces, Ditto Bazary do. 3015 picces, Ditto Aunandy, 100 picces, Silks and Sattin, 798 pieces, Doorea Collida, 310 pieces, Malda Allacha, 247 picces, aundrice, 130 piccen ? Silk Taffatics, 437 pieces, Ruffles wrought.701 fets, Emmerties, 1172 pieces, Laccowrics, 200 pieces, Silk Gauz", 358 pieces, Charconnas, 605 pieces, Humhums, 300 picces, Allabully, 100 picces, Coffida, 113 pieces, 340 pieces, Ditto painted, fuperfine, fine, and middling, Ditto Beglipore, Buff colour and fript, 5010 erempore Chintz Doorcas, 1158 pieces, Ditto Dockapra, 100 pieces Vlulmulls Patina, 915 picces, a* Ditto Soonargong, 100 picco Coffaes Chandpore, 700 pieces, Ditto Chittabully, 100 pieces, Ditto Callapatty, 700 pieces, Ditto Sujapore, 256 pieces, Ditto superfine, 50 pieces, Ditto Patna, 1296 pieces, Mamoodies, 1201 pieces, Ditto Fine, 1300 pieces, Ditto Putes, 100 pieces, Ditto blue, 1522 pieces, Ginghams, 923 fieces, Dooreas, 1530 pieces, Gazina, 1036 pieces, 1126 pieces, pieces, White Muflin Handkerchiefs, 7679 picces, Fine Old Batavia Arrack, 5,500 gallons, Bandanna handkerchiefs, 1196 pieces, Soottee hundkerchiefs, 988 pieces, Mallacca Rattans, 1000 bundles, Siftermunny ditto, 759 pieces, Tanjebs Teelbary, 483 pieces, CALT-Petre, 376,1961bs. Littu Laukipare, 1300 picces, Cinnanton, 25,536 lbs. Garbfootee ditto, 872 pi ces, Black Pepper, 11,284 lbs. Chintz Patna, 3598 picces, Chandfoy ditto, 60 picces, Ditto Madras, 552 pieces, Ditto Patna, 6501 pieces, Gillah ditto, 100 picces, China Ware, 13 chefts, Hyfon Tea, 48 chefts, Buitties, 2272 pieces, Sannocs, 30 11 pieces,

Advertising Broadside issued by Christopher Champlin in 1786

Original in Shepley Library, Providence

-



Old Shop-sign dated 1718 and said to have hung above Waterman's shoe-shop on North Main Street, Providence.

Now in Museum of Rhode Island Historical Society

Bay, March 16, 1781; the character of Arbuthnot; and particularly, the treatment of American naval prisoners of war.

Green's account of the guarrel over the booty at Charleston between the army and navy is a real contribution to the history of this obscure episode, known chiefly through a controversial pamphlet published by Sir Henry Clinton in 1794. The paragraphs dealing with the blockade of the French throw an additional light on the relations between Clinton and Arbuthnot from the point of view of a confidant of the Admiral. Green's comments on Sir George Rodney, whom he met in New York, are of interest and further explain the bad feeling between Rodney and Arbuthnot. The importance of the naval engagement with Destouches off the Chesapeake does not need to be emphasized, -it probably prolonged the war, for if the French had been able to get into the Bay and land their troops to co-operate with Lafayette, it is possible that Arnold would have met with defeat. The character of Arbuthnot may now perhaps be better judged than ever before as a result of the statements of his secretary. It is difficult to recognize in Green's narrative the "coarse, blustering, foul-mouthed bully" portrayed in the Dictionary of National Biography. Rather, Arbuthnot appears as an old man, perhaps not the most efficient type of sea commander, but certainly not meriting in his personal character the harsh judgment sometimes passed upon him.¹ In regard to the American naval prisoners and their treatment on board the prison ships, Green has much to say. As agent victualler in 1779 and 1780, he was in close touch with the prison ships and could therefore speak with some authority.

The long account of his trading venture to India supplements the letters concerning this same voyage recently edited by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.² Green's narrative serves as an expo-

¹Robert Biddulph, a lad of eighteen, who accompanied Arbuthnot's fleet to America in 1779, pronounced him "for his age one of the pleasantest men I ever saw." Letters of Robert Biddulph, 1779-1783, American Historical Review, Oct., 1923, XXIX, 88.

²Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800, Vol II. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. X.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

sition of some of the devious methods by which interlopers in the East India Company's monopoly evaded the English law. Furthermore, it shows what enormous profits awaited the shrewd merchant who was sufficiently brave to face both the legal dangers and the perils of a possibly unruly crew. Green is a good writer, and his graphic descriptions of the outward voyage, his reception at Calcutta, and the mutiny on the return trip read like an adventurous romance.¹

It has not been possible to date exactly the composition of the memoirs. The latest event directly mentioned is the Battle of the Nile in Abukir Bay. This would throw the date of the MS. at least after 1798. But there is strong reason for putting it considerably later. Green states that the subject of the treatment of American naval prisoners by the British "was raked up again from the mire of oblivion to serve the purposes of a half-crazy democracy in the city of New York." This probably refers to the sensational funeral in 1808 in honor of the victims of the prison ships. This is as late as we may place the date with any certainty.

There are, however, some slight indications of still later composition. If, as suggested in a subsequent note, Green confused Sir Rupert George and Sir Rupert Dennis George, he must have written as late as 1814; if his scorn for America's "ostentatious gratitude" to Lafayette was excited by Lafayette's tour in the United States, he cannot have written before 1824 or 1825. And the placing of the Battle of the Nile "thirty years" (instead of eighteen) after 1780 perhaps suggests a date of composition at least as late. But all this is conjecture. No more seems provable than that the memoirs apparently were set down sometime between 1808 and 1835, the date of Green's death.

¹It may very well be that Green's ship, the *Hydra*, was the first to fly American colors in the Bay of Bengal. Mr. T. E. V. Smith states that "in May 1789 a vessel returned to New York which had been the first to display the American flag in the River Ganges and to trade there." But the *Hydra* had preceded this ship by about four years. T. E. V. Smith, *The City of New York in the Year of Washington's Inauguration 1789*, p. 104.

It has not seemed desirable always to reproduce the text precisely as it stands in the MS. Green had a habit of joining three or four sentences of ordinary length by the repeated use of "and"; it therefore seemed best to divide them. Misspelled words have been corrected, the original capitalization of words has not always been retained, commas have been inserted when the obvious sense required them; but in one or two cases, where the sense was doubtful, the original punctuation has been followed and the fact noted. The aim throughout has been to facilitate the reading of the memoirs, but never at the risk of misrepresenting Green's intention.

THE MEMORANDA OF WILLIAM GREEN

In number 2 of these memoranda at the close I referred to the present for a statement of some circumstances relative to the sales and distribution of the proceeds of the ships of war and merchant vessels of every description included in the term marine, which were surrendered to us at the close of the siege of Charlestown in South Carolina in May, 1780, and taken possession of as prizes by officers appointed by the Admiral.¹ The city had capitulated to the army under Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., General, &c. &c., and to Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, commander in chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed and to be employed on the coasts of North America. Every species of public property was to be given up to the captors, and Sir Henry appointed Commissaries² on the part of the army to receive and take charge of the artillery, arms, military stores, tents, camp equipage, and property of every description which that capitulation comprehended in that capital on shore. What became of it or how it was disposed of, I was never informed, and never knew, but the naval captures were deemed subject to the jurisdiction of the nearest Court of Admiralty at New York,

¹Vice-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot. See Introduction, p. 54.

²The Commissaries of captures were James Moncrief, George Hay, and James Fraser. See Clinton's letter of appointment, Feb. 13, 1780. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, American MSS. in Royal Institution, II, 89.

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and there libelled and condemned as prizes to the navy, and the avails distributed to the officers and seamen according to law.¹

No claim to any part of the property taken on shore and in charge of the Commissaries appointed by Sir Henry Clinton was ever made on the part of the Admiral, or others, or received by them, or the avails of it, or by any one of them, which I presume, however, were shared in the army agreeably to some custom as to plunder or booty, of the nature and extent of which I am ignorant; yet there being in both services, and perhaps in all classes of society, individuals usually denominated busybodies who possess, or suppose themselves to possess, superior talents, and supply, at least in some degree, deficiencies in good sense and sound judgment by the arts of insinuation and ingratiation, so we had with us a Captain Henry Francis Evans,² an officer of some merit and address and a better education than usual among sea officers, but of an unhappy, unquiet, and restless temper, yet not unskilled and unpractised in those arts.

It seemed that some of the military entertained an opinion that the place having capitulated to the army and fleet the whole property so taken, as well ashore as afloat, should be thrown into a common mass and shared between them; and having got hold of Captain Evans, they found in him a convenient and ready instrument to broach and propagate such a sentiment among some of his brother officers. But to any such arrangement there were insurmountable objections, for no law of England authori-

¹Public notices appointing days for the distribution of the "shares of the first proportion of sundry vessels taken at Charlestown" began to appear in the New York newspapers in February, 1781, and continued from time to time for some months. Some of these notices were signed by Green and some by Green and Samuel Kemble (see p. 61, n.). They are interesting as confirming Green's statement here in his memoirs, and also as showing that the navy was not backward in getting its share of the proceeds from the spoils. See *The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, Feb. 5, April 16, 1781; *The Royal Gazette*, (N. Y.), May 9, 1781.

²Captain of the *Raisonnable* until transferred to the *Charlestown*, late the *Boston*, an American ship captured at the fall of Charleston. Robert Beatson, *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from* 1727 to 1783, VI, 204, 209.

zes an army to despoil her enemies, and all enemy's property which the accidents of war may subject to its power of every description is deemed to belong to the King, and may subsequently be disposed of at his royal pleasure by Order of Council. If it could have applied in this case, which must be a matter of infinite doubt, in a civil war it might have been attended by years of delay and a heavy expense utterly out of proportion to the object, and after all of uncertain issue as to the parties. But the case with the navy was altogether different: the course to be pursued was legally and distinctly marked out, the mode, extent, and proportion of distribution fixed from the Admiral to the cook's mate by laws and usages established for many years.

Whilst the pursers were employed as deputy agents to realize the property so acquired on the part of the navy, Samuel Kemble, Esq., of New York,¹ the brother-in-law of Lieutenant General Gage, and myself being the principal agents, and I the only acting one present, I received a letter from Captain Evans remonstrating as I understood on the part of an army committee against the proceedings then going on in relation to the prizes. It was sufficiently insolent and contained some unfounded insinuations, and though not so intended, it certainly put me under a very great obligation to him, for it placed me on my guard. He did not name the members of this committee nor of any other officer of the fleet who concurred with him in opinion or authorized his remonstrance in any manner,² and I then

¹Eldest son of Peter Kemble and Gertrude, daughter of Samuel Bayard of New York. He was born at New Brunswick, N. J., about 1732. In 1773 he was appointed Naval Officer of New York. He sailed to England in 1783 and later to the East Indies, dying in the island of Sumatra about 1796. His sister, Margaret, married General Thomas Gage, Dec. 8, 1758. J. A. Stevens, Jr., Colonial New York. Sketches Biographical and Historical, 1768-1784, p. 139. Cf. Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, IX, 151.

²The naval committee was probably that composed of Andrew Barklay, Henry Francis Evans, and J. Orde. Sir Henry Clinton, Memorandums, &c. &c. respecting the unprecedented treatment which the army have met with respecting plunder taken after a siege, and of which plunder the navy serving with the army divided their more than ample share, now fourteen years since, pp. 16, 21.

thought, as I now do, and so have at all times since, that no such committee ever had any regular appointment or existence on the part of the army in South Carolina,1 and that his letter might have been written in consequence of some loose conversation between him and some of the military officers and the morbid action of his own busy meddling temper, in order by exciting a dispute to make himself of some consequence. His letter was answered with civility, which it did not deserve, and he was informed that all the funds which had come to my hands, (principally bills of exchange drawn on the Commissioners of the navy board for the purchase of the frigates and armed vessels taken into the King's service), would be immediately forwarded to the coagent in New York, Mr. Kemble, and directions given to the subagents there to remit to him all avails they might then have in their hands, or which they might have thereafter, to be disposed of according to law; and I did so, reserving only my commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the amount, which was truly all the benefit or advantage that I derived from the transaction.

If the army really had any right to divide equally with the navy upon this occasion, it must have been from a convention previously made under proper and lawful authority, which was not the case, although it may with an appearance of reason be allowed that such a claim was equitable; however this might be, it was never openly made to my knowledge nor any hint of it ever given to me, except by the letter of Captain Evans as beforementioned. He lost his life in action with a French frigate in Boston Bay some months afterwards,² and I never heard any more of it, except that if he had lived to arrive in England some legal steps would have been attempted in relation thereto. Yet upon what lawful basis such an attempt could have been

¹The army committee was probably that composed of Colonel Westerhagen, *et al.* Sir Henry Clinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 23.

²Captain Evans was killed July 21, 1781 in an engagement with two French frigates off Cape Breton Island, when he was on his way with a fleet of merchantmen to load coals. Beatson, V, 303-304. W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, IV, 71.

made I am quite at a loss to imagine.¹ I am nevertheless very sensible that this naval appropriation occasioned some jealousy and murmuring among the redcoats, and that it was attributed as a contrivance of mine carried into effect by my influence over the mind of the Admiral, but such an opinion was totally

¹The facts of the case seem to be these. Representatives of both the army and navy met to agree upon such partition of the spoils as might be equitable between the two services. They differed in their opinions and the matter was consequently referred to the King. Clinton to Germain, June 3, 1780. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, American MSS. in Royal Institution, II, 136; the letter is printed in Clinton's *Memorandums*, pp. 4-5. The King apparently delayed his decision, and Green in the meantime disposed of a quantity of the booty on the part of the navy. This occasioned some correspondence between Clinton and Arbuthnot, which, however, led to nothing. The entire matter was taken up in England after the war, and it was found that George Hay, one of the Charleston Commissaries of captures appointed by Clinton, had retained £9200, and was unable to pay it on demand because "rendered utterly incapable by most unforeseen losses and misfortunes." The affair occasioned so much ire that Clinton felt himself compelled in 1794 to publish his pamphlet, cited above, to clear his own name, in which booklet he printed the correspondence on the subject.

A similar dispute, but unconnected with the Charleston episode, occurred a year later, when Clinton wrote to Germain that the army by the advice of lawyers had libelled the last captures made solely by them in the Chesapeake in the King's name. This was done, said Clinton, because the navy officials had taken steps calculated to deprive the army of their rights. Arbuthnot's reply to a letter from Stephens on the subject was very much to the point. He granted that the steps taken by the army were justifiable, if Clinton had correctly given the state of affairs, and then went on to say: "My answer is that I have never in the smallest degree presumed to interfere with respect to prizes of any kind; I have always considered the result of captures when regularly condemned, (and no appeal lodged against the decision of the court), as a legal property provided for by law, in consequence of our most Gracious Sovereign's generosity to his fleet. I have never mentioned the name of an agent, but have always left them in this respect to be the parent of their own works, and have received my part in due time of those captures as aforesaid, without asking the smallest question." Clinton to Germain, July 18, 1781; Arbuthnot to Stephens, Nov. 10, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcripts.

About three months before Arbuthnot quitted America, he instructed Green, as his secretary, to write as follows to S. S. Blowers, solicitor general of the Province of New York: "His Excellency, however, directs me to make one general observation with respect to property captured on the water, under every possible circumstance, he considers it to be only cognizable in the Court of Admiralty and not by him." Dated April 19, 1781. Colonial Office, 5: 82. L. C. Transcript. unfounded;¹ yet I had all the odium of it, and as my humble origin and education was well known, for how could it be otherwise, advantage was taken of it to attach to me a stigma which might not have fallen upon one of a gentlemanly birth and more liberal bringing up and breeding as well as fashion and will ever be held in high consideration.²

I have been induced to go more into detail into this subject than may be thought needful, as the consequences of this odium were felt by me severely long after the cessation of its immediate and active operation, and were in some degree influential in promoting my final settlement in America, yet ever retaining the most ardent and affectionate attachment to the land of my birth, which in the fields of glory reaped so ample an harvest.

As the presence of the commanders in chief in Carolina became unnecessary after the reduction of Charlestown, they both in a few weeks after returned to New York, Earl Cornwallis with the rank of Lieutenant General being left with a competent military force to prosecute the further subjugation of the southern colonies, seconded by a competent naval force of frigates, sloops of war, and gallies.

(To be continued.)

¹Nevertheless, at least one man mentioned Green's influence over his Admiral. Sir Henry Clinton wrote the following note on the margin of one of the copies of his *Narrative*: "I had requested the recall of Admiral Arbuthnot, a fine, brave, superannuated old gentleman, who saw, heard, and acted by his secretary." B. F. Stevens, *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 46, n.

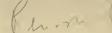
²Perhaps Green meant to write : "more liberal bringing up and breeding, as fashion will ever be held in high consideration."

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

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Stone head found in Indian grave, Hugh Cole Farm, Warren, R. I. One-half actual size.

> In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

Issued Quarterly

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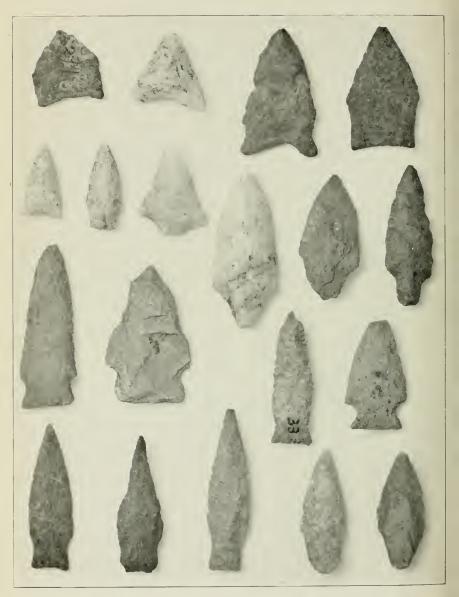
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HOWARD W. PRESTON, Pres GEORGE T. SPICER, Secreta		K. ALDRICH, Jr., Treasurer M. CHAPIN, Librarian

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Indian Implements found in Rhode Island

It is still possible for the acquistive antiquary to search for and find Indian arrow-beads and other implements, not only in the sandy wastes of the less inhabited part of Rhode Island, but in excavations made even in the more populous districts, arrow-heads and a pestle having been found near Field's Point in Providence in the summer of 1924. The objects showing Indian workmanship that are most commonly found are pieces of chipped flint,¹ either rejected or uncompleted knife-blades and arrow-heads, or pieces chipped off during the process of manufacture. These objects show the tell-tale marks of the chipping process and are easily distinguishable from natural stone formations. Broken arrow-heads and knife-blades, particularly those with the tip or corners broken off, are the next commonest find, but perfect ones are by no means uncommon even at the present

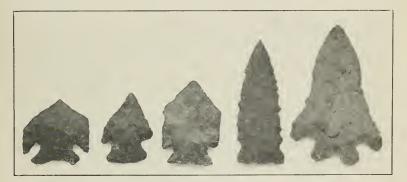
¹There is no real flint found in this region, but various hard, dense or finely grained rocks are commonly spoken of as "flint."



Typical specimens of arrow-heads found in Rhode Island. Two-thirds actual size. From the Society's Museum

time. Of course the implements and customs of the Narragansett and Wampanoag Indians did not differ materially from those of other neighboring Algonquin tribes.

The arrow-heads, spear-heads and knife-blades were usually made of hard stone of various colors, of quartz, generally the white variety, and also of slate. They vary in size from about an inch in length up to seven inches or more. There appears to be no definite line of demarkation between arrow-heads, knifeblades and spear-heads, the three classes grading one into



Arrow-heads found in Rhode Island, showing unusually fine workmanship and probably not made by local Indians. Two-thirds actual size. In the collection of Sidney R. Turner

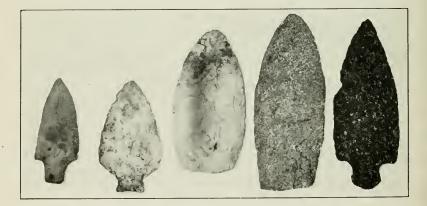
another and in many instances two classes being indistinguishable as regards appearance and perhaps interchangeable as regards use. Archaeologists consider many of the so-called arrow-heads and spear-heads as more probably knife-blades. The weight, the size and the shape of the implement together with the exigencies of the moment would determine its use. It is of course rather difficult for persons brought up in the environment of our modern civilization to determine accurately the uses to which another civilization put its now obsolete tools. Indeed many of these crude tools may have been made to serve various purposes under varying conditions and necessities.

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Spear heads and knive-blades found in Rhode Island The one at left was found at Westerly. The next one is of quartz and was found at Potowomut and the centre one is of slate. One-third actual size.

From the Society's Museum



The two spear-heads at the left were found in Bristol, R I., and the three at the right in South Kingstown, R. I. About one-half actual size.

In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

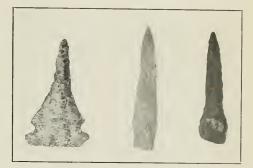
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Most of our local arrow-heads, knife-blades and spear-heads fall into three general groups as regards design¹, a triangular form, a rather rough and often elongated letter V, usually made of quartz; a stemmed form either as a whale's tail or as a neck and shoulders; and a crude or rough leaf-shaped form. These chipped implements, whether blades or heads, were attached to a stick, which served as handle or shaft, as the case might be. Sometimes they were set in the split or slit end of a stick and sometimes bound to the stick with sinew. The chipped drills have been intentionally tapered for some sort of perforation work, and usually have a sort of knob at the larger end. A few



Stone drills found in Rhode Island. One-half actual size.

From the Society's Museum



Stone drills found at Point Judith, R. I. About one-half actual size. In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

drills have been found in Rhode Island that have a much more pronounced T-shaped head than the one found at Point Judith and shown in the illustration.

The large chipped quartz blade, seven inches long in its present broken condition and evidently originally an inch or two longer, may have served as a regular, though unusually large, spear-head, although from its size and appearance it may well have been the head of a ceremonial spear.

In addition to chipping "flint" and quartz, our local Indians made many of their tools by pecking and then rubbing promis-

¹For scientific classification, see article by Thomas Wilson in Report of the United States National Museum, 1897.

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ing stones into the desired shape. The slate spear-head, shown in the illustration, was probably made in this manner. Of those tools made by pecking and rubbing, the most commonly found are axe-heads. The grooveless axes, often called celts, vary from two to twelve inches in length and usually have a low or dull polish.

Axe-heads, which are also quite common finds in Rhode Island, vary considerably in type, and run in size from three



The quartz cerimonial spear-head and the slate pendant were found at Field's Point. The small gouge was found in Washington County, the next one in Glocester (presented by Joshua Williams), the next in Tiverton (presented by Robert Lawton) and the largest on the Gregory Dexter Farm in North Providence (presented by Stephen Dexter).

> The smallest gouge is from the collection of Thomas G. Hazard, Jr. and the other objects are from the Society's Museum

and one-half to ten and one-half inches in length. They were tightly bound to a stick or wooden handle.

The axe-heads differ very materially in weight, thickness, polish, workmanship and size, but are approximately bi-symmetrical. The small ones were hatchets and the larger ones are considered by many to have been for ceremonial purposes. Some of the cruder and smaller ones are merely notched, but the

larger ones usually have one or two deep grooves on each side for the sinews to lie in. A few drilled or perforated axe-like heads have been found, but these are usually of a comparatively small size and are supposed to have been used for ceremonials.

The adze is a modified or specialized axe, and is not bi-symmetrical, one side usually being smooth while the other side has one or two deep grooves similar to the larger axes, the adze generally being rather large, say about five or six inches. One adze, which was found in Gloucester, Rhode Island, and is now in our museum, has one groove on its back and another Rhode



Small axe-heads found in Rhode Island.

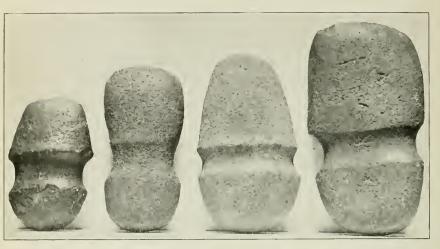
The large grooveless axe was found in Westerly and the other two at Barber's Heights. The grooved axe (at right of grooveless one) was found on Cook Farm, Tiverton. One-fourth actual size.

From the Society's Museum

Island adze has two grooves. Occasionally an adze is found with a groove on both sides. The adze-blade cuts at right angles to its handle, while the axe-blade cuts parallel with its handle.

A few so-called chisels or gouges have been found in Rhode Island. They are also classed as adzes because they were usually attached to handles so that they would cut as an adze¹. They vary from two to ten inches in length, with a blade of an inch and a half or two inches width. One side is smooth and convex and the other side is concave or grooved with the groove running down to a blade or edge at one end, or both ends. We have

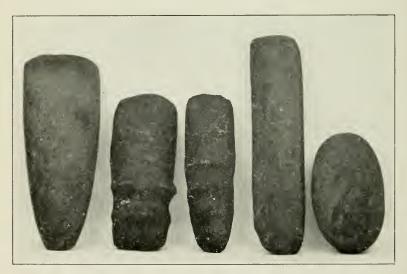
¹C. C. Willoughby, "The Adze and the Ungrooved Axe of the New England Indians," Amer. Anthro. N. S. ix, 296.



Grooved axe-heads found in Rhode Island.

The left centre one was found on the William E. Thurber Farm, North Prov-idence, and was presented by Mr. Martin M. Thurber. The right centre one was found near the Dunnell Works, Ingrahamville, Pawtucket and was pre-sented by Mr. D. D. Cattanack. One-fourth actual size.

From the Society's Museum.



Adze-heads and other implements found in Rhode Island. From left to right : A grooveless axe, an adze found in Glocester, R. I., a double-grooved adze, a smoother found in Indian grave in Tiverton and presented by Robert Lawton, and a pestle found in Indian grave on Block Island and described by Livermore. One-fourth actual size.

one example of a double ended or double-edged gouge in our museum. They sometimes are grooved or have knobs on the back to make their fastenings more secure.

The pestle is one of those tools that is often found in Rhode Island. They run from seven to twenty-eight inches in length and some of them are very heavy, the usual shape being that of a cylinder slightly tapering toward each end. A pestle was recently found in Warren that has one end ornamented by being carved in the shape of an animal's head, perhaps intended to represent a beaver or otter, and another Rhode Island pestle



Indian implements found in Rhode Island. The stone at the left is a piece of blackhead found in Washington County. It shows signs of use. The other stones are probably sinkers. One-fourth actual size

From the Society's Museum

has one end carved to represent the tail of a fish. The broken pestle found at Middletown and now in the Park Museum probably had a carved head. Such ornamentation is, however, uncommon. Another type of pestle is represented by a stone from Block Island about five inches long and shaped like an elongated egg. This particular stone is described in Livermore's History of Block Island, p. 196. Mr. Wheeler has a larger pestle of somewhat similar shape. A "bell-shaped" pestle found in Rhode Island is now in the Museum of the American Indian, New York.

Many crude stone tools, that have been found, have been called hammers, but it does not take much workmanship to obtain a serviceable stone hammer, many stones in their natural





Pestle found at Wakefield, R. I. One-half actual size.

Pestle found in Indian grave, Burr's Hill, Warren, R. I. About one-fourth actual size. In the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation. New York.

formation being well fitted for the purpose. It is very difficult in a large number of cases to determine whether or not a stone has been artificially improved, and it is likewise difficult to tell if it has been used as a hammer. A number of grooved or notched stones formerly considered hammers, sling stones or club-heads are now generally called sinkers and are supposed to have been used by Indian fishermen to weight their lines and nets. A few stones have two grooves running at right angles.

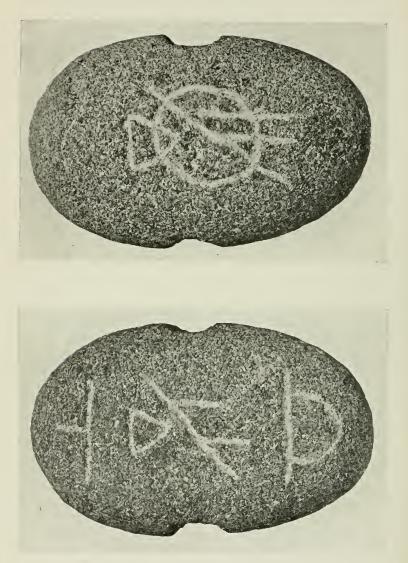
Various stone implements have been found in Rhode Island



Pierced stone and two pendants found in Washington County, Rhode Island. Two-thirds actual size.

The pierced stone was given to the Society by Mr. Willard Kent, and the pendants are in the collection of Mr. Thomas G. Hazard, Jr.

the use of which is as yet undetermined. Such for example are the "ceremonial stones," the so-called ornaments, the smoothers or whetstones, the pierced stones and the pitted stones, rough oval stones with one or two artificially concave faces. These are sometimes called anvil stones and sometimes hammer stones and are said to have been used for some sort of grinding or pounding. The so-called plummets or pendants may have been used as sinkers. A large, rather heavy, rough grooved stone found on Point Judith Neck and now in the Knowles Collection at Peace Dale may have been a hammer head. The flat, thin, semi-circu-

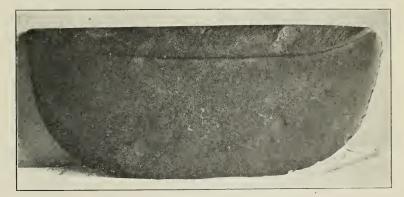


Incised Indian implement, probably a cerimonial stone, found in Warren near the Kickemuit River About three-fifths actual size.

In the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, New York. lar knife, called a "squaw's knife" or "woman's knife," is occasionally found in Rhode Island. These knives are sometimes pierced with a hole at one corner.

Denison¹ states that immovable mortars were made by hollowing out large cavities in boulders. Movable mortars, holding only a few quarts, were hollowed out of smaller stones. The paint cups might be considered as small mortars used for grinding and holding paint.²

Ceremonial stones, commonly called banner stones, are rather rare and archaeologists disagree as to their exact use. One class



"Squaw's Knife" found at Warwick Neck, R I. About half actual size. In the collection of Harrie Wheeler.

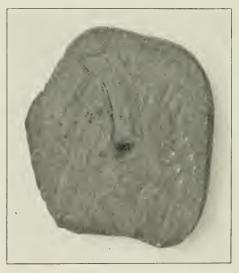
of these banner stones consists of double-bladed perforated axelike stones with perforation holes varying from half to threequarters of an inch in diameter. Such banner stones are found in Rhode Island and one of them is described in detail by Professor Delabarre in volume XH of the "Rhode Island Historical Society Collections." This stone is particularly interesting in that it is incised, a very unusual feature. This problematic class includes various types, such as the pierced pendants, and the

¹Evening Bulletin, Providence, Feb. 18, 1867. R. I. H. S. S. B. xxii. 63 Bartlett, vi. 19.

²W. K. Moorehead's "The Stone Age in America," ii. 102.



The two problematic stones at the left were found in North Kingstown and the two at the right were found in East Greenwich, R. 1 Two fifths actual size. In the collection of Harrie Wheeler.



Pierced stone, with hole through centre and with various ornamental lines incised on face. Found at Tiverton, R. I. Actual size.

In the collection of Thomas G. Hazard, Jr.

tablets or thin slabs pierced with one or more holes, often called gorgets. The so-called "boat-stones" and "bird stones" that are occasionally found in Rhode Island belong to the problematic class.

Our local Indians made bowls, pipes and other shaped utensils out of soapstone, which was particularly adapted for this purpose and was obtained largely from a soapstone quarry in Johnston. This long-forgotten quarry was accidentally discovered in 1878 during some excavations and is now easily accessible to the public. The Indians used to cut away the soft soapstone by means of crude chisels or hand picks made from pieces of hard



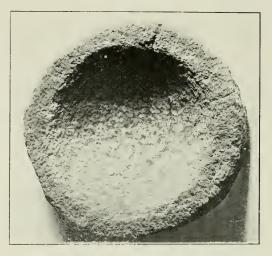
Two paint-cups and ornamented trinket, all found in North Kingstown, R. 1. One-half actual size. In the collection of Harrie Wheeler.

stone found nearby, and would thus carve or block out a proposed bowl or dish, bottom side up on the rock. Chipping under the projection thus formed, room was gained for the insertion of a wedge, by means of which the half-completed vessel was split off from the ledge. The inside would then be hollowed out by means of smaller sharp stone picks.* A number of these partly finished blocked-out vessels still remain attached to the ledge¹. These soapstone bowls were made both with and without ears or handles, as shown in the illustration. There was another soapstone quarry in Westerly².

^{*}There is an example in the Museum of the American Indian.

¹R. I. H. S. P. 1879, p. 16 1880, p. 36. R. I. H. S. C. xii. 103; Eleventh Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, p. 273. Report of Committee on Marking Historical Sites, 1913, p. 139.

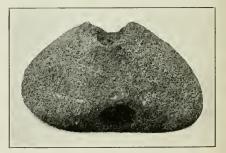
²Denison's "Westerly and its Witnesses" p. 222.



Stone mortar found in Rhode Island. 10 inches in diameter. In the collection of Harrie Wheeler



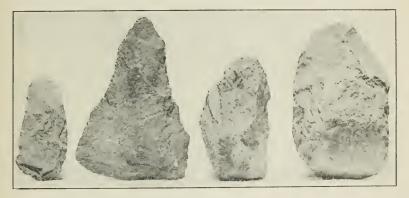
Pitted stone found in Rhode Island. Its concave face shows that it was used for pounding or as an anvil. One-half actual size. From the Society's Museum.



Banner stone found in Warren, R. I. 23/4 inches long.

In the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, New York.

The Indians made pipes out of soapstone which were perhaps the most difficult to make of any of the Indian utensils as they had to be both shaped and drilled with considerable care. The rather elaborate soapstone pipes shown in the illustrations, although found in Rhode Island, may have been made by some distant tribes and imported through trade, as they seem more finished than most of the productions of the Indians living about Narragansett Bay. Roger Williams, in his "Key" published in 1643, states that the Narragansetts imported pipes from the



The two specimens at left are typical of the so-called "hoes" or Indian agricultural implements found in Washington County, and were presented to the Society by Mr. Willard Kent. The two specimens at the right are large picks from the soapstone quarry at Johnston. About one-fifth actual size. From the Society's Museum.

Mohawks¹. A great variety of Indian pipes have been found in Rhode Island.

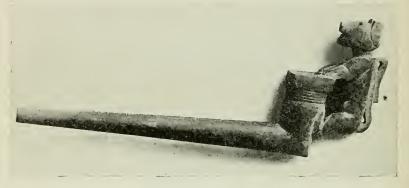
Stone ornamentation was occasionally practiced by the Indians of this vicinity. The pipes as well as the ornamented pestles have already been mentioned. The stone face or stone head found in an Indian grave on the Hugh Cole farm in Warren, has crude indentations to represent the eyes, nostrils, and mouth²,

¹R. I. H. S. Coll. Vol. 1, Chap. vi.

²The stone head in the Park Museum is a natural stone formation found uear Chopmist, R. I., and the eye holes were added by an American in the nineteenth century and not by Indians, according to the present owner, who obtained his information from the man who made the holes.



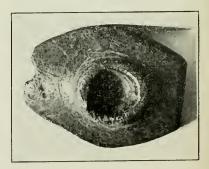
Stone pipes found in North Kingstown and Potowomut, R. I. About half size The bowl of the left center pipe has the representation of a human face carved on it in low relief. In the collection of Harrie Wheeler.



Indian soapstone pipe, unearthed at Burr's Hill, Warren. About one-third actual size. In the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, New York



Soapstone pipe found in Indian grave, Westerly, R. I. One-half size. From the Society's Museum



Stone pipe found in Warwick, R. I. Actual size.

In the Museum, Memorial Hall, Peace Dale, R. I.

INDIAN IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN RHODE ISLAND 1

and the soapstone mask found at Fields Point is rather elaborate. Other small human effigies cut in stone have been found in Rhode Island.

Some of the soapstone bowls and pipes have serrated edges and occasionally crude lines incised on their sides, but these lines may have been later additions made by children or vandals. Pierced pieces of soapstone are also found.

The "inscription" on the banner stone seems to belong to the same class of ornamentation as the various rock inscriptions, which are quite numerous in the Narragansett basin and which



Soapstone bowls.

The one with the ears was found about half mile south of Apponaug, R. I., and was presented by Hon George A. Brayton. The other one was plowed up on the Potter Farm, Johnston, R. I., and was presented by Mr. H. B. Drowne. One-fourth actual size. From the Society's Museum.

have been described in detail by Professor Delabarre in volumes XIII to XVI of "Rhode Island Historical Society Collections." It is a question as to how much these rock inscriptions may have been inspired by association with European civilization.

A large number of rough flat irregularly shaped pieces of hard slate have been found in Narragansett and South Kingstown. They are said to have been used by the Indians as hoes or other agricultural implements, and to have come from a quarry on the east side of the island of Conanicut about a quarter of a mile south of the Jamestown ferry landing.

Pieces of blacklead (plumbago or graphite), that show signs of having been worked, are found scattered about South Kings-

town. They probably came from the mine called Coojoot, which is on the east side of Tower Hill, just north of The Pettaquamscutt Rock and was known as early as 1657. The Indians are said to have used this blacklead for painting. A deer-skin paintbag and "paint-brush" were unearthed at Burr's Hill, Warren.

It is not possible in an article of this length to describe and



Soapstone "mask," carved on the bottom of a bowl. Dug up at Field's Point, Providence. 8 inches tall In the Park Museum, Providence.

illustrate every variant form of Indian implement found in Rhode Island, but merely to record characteristic examples of the principal type forms found in this locality and to show a few unusual specimens.

(To be continued.)

Notes

The July issue of the "Collections" contained an article on Rhode Island pewter and pewterers by Mr. Charles A. Calder. It is the only comprehensive account of our local pewter and is

one of the few contributions to our industrial history, a very important as well as a very much neglected field of study. We trust that Mr. Calder's article will not only lead people to study their pewter more carefully, but will induce others to collect data concerning our early artisans in other trades.

Mr. William D. Miller has presented to the Society a set of the Calendars of the British State Papers. As these calendars contain abstracts of a large number of items of Rhode Island interest, they will be of great use to students.

Mrs. Frederick Allien has given the Society the three volume folio set of Ormerod's History of Cheshire, which contains much genealogical interest.

Our Secretary, Dr. George T. Spicer, as President of the Rhode Island Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, delivered an address at the dedication of the Nathanael Greene Homestead. Hon. Herbert A. Rice, also one of our members, delivered an address at the dedication of the Nathanael Greene Homestead and another address before the Society of Cincinnati.

Dr. Frank T. Calef has compiled a genealogy of the descendants of Roger Williams, comprising the names of some 4,000 persons. This is the most extensive genealogy of the family, is well indexed and will be of great use to genealogists.

The Pennsylvania Magazine for July, 1924, contains several letters of Dr. Solomon Drowne of Providence, together with a brief biographical sketch of the doctor.

Green End Fort at Newport was presented to the Newport Historical Society on August 27th with appropriate ceremonies.

Miss Esther Bernon Carpenter's "South County Studies," with an introduction by Caroline Hazard, has just been issued from the Merrymount Press and makes another charming addition to the volumes on the history and traditions of the Narragansett Country.

Mr. Walter A. Kilton has presented the Society with a set of framed photographs of all the postmasters of Providence.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. William Allan Dyer Rev. Albert C. Larned.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1924, contains an article on the ancestry of Roger Williams.

The Memoranda of William Green

By HENRY S. FRASER

(Continued)

This indeed was turning the tables upon the loyalists with a sufficient degree of vengeance, but I shall not attempt here to go into political discussions upon this subject—the day has passed away. Peace, may it never again be violated by either party, has finally settled it, but those who are curious may be gratified by perusing the various pamphlets then published, though by none in my humble opinion as by the Abbé Raynal in his celebrated history of the European Establishments in the East and West Indies has it been so ably treated.¹

I believe the force in Virginia under Arnold was less than 2000;² the flying corps with Lafayette was inferior in number³ and inefficient in all other military regards. To give him confidence, strength, and power, Baron Steuben was detached with additional force from the Jerseys,⁴ and in a conference⁵ between General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau it was resolved to embark a French corps of about 1500⁶ on board their fleet at Newport, eight sail of the line⁷ to sail with the first fair wind and by a *coup de main* to carry his post at Portsmouth and to make him and his whole corps pass under the yoke. What

⁵This conference took place at Newport, March 6, 1781. Rochambeau thus wrote of Washington's proposals: "Il me proposa de faire partir un pareil détachement du corps françois, pour aller, avec l'escadre, se réunir avec La Fayette, et attaquer ensemble Arnold dans sa position de Portsmouth." Mémoires Militaires, Historiques et Politiques de Rochambeau, I, 264.

⁶About 1,200 French troops embarked at this time. Idem.

⁷There were eight sail of the line counting the *Romulus* of only **44** guns, which was, however, a two-decker. Clowes, III, 492, n.

¹There have been many editions and enlargements of this famous work first published at Amsterdam in 1770.

²Arnold had about 1,600 soldiers. J. A. Stevens, The Expedition of Lafayette against Arnold, p. 14.

³About 1,200 rank and file. Ibid., p. 19.

⁴Steuben had been in Virginia long before Lafayette began his invasion, and he continued to remain there.

his fate would have been may be readily imagined had he been captured.

De Barras, who had then succeeded the deceased Count de Ternay in the naval command, escaped to sea in a gale of wind but favorable in a dark night, in the early part of April with this powerful armament for the Chesapeake,¹ and early on the ensuing morning intelligence was received of his sailing on board the flagship. Signals immediately called every captain on board to receive their sailing orders after completing their water,² but the wind was against our clearing the bay and Gardiner's Island, except in very short tacks; yet by one o'clock three sail of the line got under way and made the attempt,³ the Bedford, 74, the Culloden, 74, and the Europe, 64.4 The former, however, in working out was driven by a strong tide so near the shore that she was first obliged to anchor, and, still driving to leeward, to cut away all her masts before she was brought to,5 and a signal for all the boats of the squadron towed her again to her old anchorage in the bay. The Europe was recalled by signal, but the Culloden having been first out stood on. As we all had intelligence of the enemy's destination, every captain in case of separation was ordered to rendezvous off the capes of Virginia and to cruize there for a given period, or until we rejoined him.

¹Green has confused de Barras with Destouches. The former did not arrive at Newport until May, 1781. The latter sailed for the Chesapeake on the evening of March 8, 1781. Arbuthnot to Stephens, March 20, 1781. Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1781, Pt. I, p. 311. See also Blanchard, p. 68.

²The English squadron had fallen down to the entrance of Gardiner's Bay on the 9th, and sailed the next day for the Chesapeake. Same despatch in Almon's *Remembrancer*.

³The incident here related by Green took place Jan. 23, 1781, a month and a half before the French fleet sailed from Newport. George Balfour to Graves, Jan. 24, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

⁴No reference to the *Europe* has been found in the contemporary letters pertaining to this occurrence. It is possible that Green had in mind the *America*, 64, which was driven to sea but returned in safety February 8. Arbuthnot to Stephens, Feb. 15, 1781. *Ibid*.

⁵This is confirmed by the letter of Edmund Affleck to Graves, Jan. 24, 1781. *Ibid.*

By this time it was near the close of day and the force of the adverse gale so much increased as to render any attempt in the rest of our ships to get under weigh to the last degree dangerous. We were therefore constrained to postpone sailing till the next day, and under no uneasiness for the Culloden, believing her to have cleared Montauk Point, the headland which forms the entrance of the bay to the southeast, and to have bore away. But about 11 at night, we were all alarmed by the discharge of several heavy guns as signals of distress, and at the dawn of the following morning discovered the distressing cause, that ship being ashore and totally lost at the head of the bay.¹ It appeared on a subsequent investigation² that about eight o'clock P. M. the pilot had concluded, from inspecting the log and considering the course and distance he supposed she had made, that he had weathered Montauk and might bear away to the southward, which Captain Balfour³ accordingly did, believing himself to have ample sea-room; but the pilot being in error and not having weathered the point in question, he had run again right up the bay, and the land lying low he was aground ere he saw it or had any idea of his danger. We were thus deprived in one day of the service of two 74 gun ships, being more than one-fourth of our whole force which could originally have scarcely been deemed equal to the enemy we had to cope with.

On this occasion and crisis Admiral Arbuthnot appeared to resume the ardor and energy of his ancient character as an officer and to exert himself with a zeal, promptitude, and activity suitable to the call of his country, and he was nobly seconded by every officer and man in the remaining ships. He determined at once upon the wisest course, which was to remast and refit

¹The *Culloden* came on shore on Will's Point, at the entrance of Fort Pond Bay, about a quarter before five on the morning of January 23. Balfour to Graves, Jan. 24, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript. Will's Point is known to-day as Culloden Point.

 $^{^{2}}$ The captain and pilot of the *Culloden* were both tried for the loss of the vessel, but were acquitted. Beatson, V, 214, n.

³George Balfour, Captain, July 26, 1758; superannuated Rear-Admiral, 1787; died June 28, 1794. Schomberg, V, 262, 336; The Gentleman's Magazine, 1794, Pt. II, p. 672.

the *Bedford* from the *Culloden* as soon as the proper craft could be procured to lay alongside. In effecting this I do not believe an hour's time was delayed or lost, so that on the morning of the eighth¹ day after the misfortune we were under weigh and in a few hours clear of Gardiner's Bay and Cape Montauk and in full pursuit of the French fleet, which had got the start of us by at least ten days.²

Having so often before offered battle, anxious to sustain the brilliant character of our seamen and the service of the navy, we flattered ourselves that the moment was nigh when we might accomplish something which might entitle us to claim rank and distinction with the Ansons, Hawkes, Boscawens, and others. We carried, therefore, a press of sail, in the hope of coming up with them at sea before they could reach the capes, or, if they had entered Chesapeake Bay, that Arnold might defend himself for a few days until we should arrive to relieve him. On the dawn, at the opening light of the first watch after we had taken our departure from Long Island, we made the land a little to the southward of Cape [Henry]³ and our delight may be imagined, but was incapable of expression, when a signal was soon after

²Of course this is an error. Destouches sailed from Newport March 8 and was followed by Arbuthnot on the 10th. *Vide supra*, p. 127, notes.

¹The Bedford was not ready for sea until March 9, forty-five days after the misfortune. The Bedford was under jury masts until the severe weather had abated sufficiently to allow the lower masts of the Culloden to be taken out. Every exertion was made in the meantime to remove the guns, provisions, and stores from the Culloden. Arbuthnot to Stephens, March 20, 1781. Almon's Remembrancer, 1781, Pt. I, pp. 310 f. Also the same to the same, Feb. 15, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

A purser on one of Arbuthnot's ships wrote of the refitting as follows: "The expedition used in refitting the dismasted *Bedford*, equalled, if not exceeded, anything of the kind I ever saw in any of the King's yards." Letter dated March 20, 1781. *The Political Magazine and Parliamentary*, *Naval, Military, and Literary Journal*, May, 1781, p. 288.

³In his official despatch Arbuthnot stated that "Cape Henry bore S. W. by W. distant about fourteen leagues." This was on the day of the battle, and hence Green's chronology is several days out when he speaks here of "the first watch after we had taken our departure from Long Island." Arbuthnot to Stephens, March 20, 1781. Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1781, Pt. I, p. 312.

made from our headmost ships of an enemy's fleet bearing N. N. W.,¹ which by our glasses we soon after perceived to be standing closehauled upon alongshore and to consist of eight line of battle ships.

It is probable that they discovered us about the same time, and, relinquishing the object for which they had committed themselves to the dangers of the sea and to the hazard of a sea fight, they wore ship in a few minutes and stood to the northward, evidently with the view of making their escape. Our signal was immediately made for a general chase and to engage as we came up. We had seven ships of the line,² one a 3 decker or 2nd rate of 90³ guns, the *London*, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Graves, the rest 2 deckers, 3rd rates. The enemy had one ship more,⁴ and two of theirs were of 80 guns⁵ with 32 pounders on their lower deck, ours only 24's. They had an unquestionable superiority of force⁶ and were as unquestionably resolved to reserve it for use on some other day. They had also another great advantage in their ships being all copper bottomed,

³98 guns. Schomberg, IV, 353.

⁴The French also had eight ships of the line. Clowes, III, 492. Blanchard, p. 69.

⁵There was only one French ship of 80 guns, the *Duc de Bourgogne*. Steel's Naval Remembrancer, p. 8. Next in size came two ships with 74. Clowes, III, 492. It is interesting to learn that the Royal Oak, in addition to her usual number of guns, had six carronades eighteen pounders; the Prudent had in addition six of the guns from the Culloden; and the Europe had six more of them. The Political Magazine and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal, May, 1781, p. 289.

¹Arbuthnot's report reads thus: "On the 16th at six A. M. the Iris made the signal for discovering five strange sail to the N. N. E. and soon afterwards hailed, that they were large ships steering for the Capes of Virginia, and supposed to be distant about three miles." Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1781, Pt. I, p. 312. Cf. the eyewitness account of Blanchard, p. 69, and see App.

²The British had eight ships of the line. Clowes, III, 492.

⁶On the contrary, the two fleets were extraordinarily well matched. For details of the battle from the French point of view, see Blanchard, pp. 69-70. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 233-240. See also S. A. Green, ed., My Campaigns in America: A Journal kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-81, pp. 25-28, 104-108.

whereas only three of ours were so,¹ and of course clean, whilst the others having only the usual sheathing and long out of dock had become foul and our chasing at an unequal rate of speed in sailing.²

Of course it became difficult to make a regular attack where the foe preferred flight under all the sail they could conveniently carry to the probability of a defeat and destruction or capture, which would have been doubly disastrous not only to France, as inflicting an immediate and heavy if not an irreparable diminution of their marine force, but further as being injurious and disgraceful to the cause of their allies, as well as in the estimation of their opinions. However, a partial action began about noon³ with our leading ship, the Robust, and our ships continued it as they could approach, but our rear with very little effect, the enemy having continued to crowd off with all possible expedition and all the canvas they could set.⁴ The *Robust* lost between 30 and 40 killed and wounded⁵ and was a good deal cut up in her rigging and spars. The loss of the other two ships of our van was less in men,⁶ but they also were crippled at the enemy's fire on their spars and rigging. The Admiral's ship had 12 or 13 killed⁷ and wounded and her maintopmast rendered unserviceable, with some damage to her rigging, but the ships in the rear were little damaged.

²Literally transcribed from original.

³Action was not begun until a few minutes after 2 P. M. Arbuthnot to Stephens, March 20, 1781. Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1781, Pt. I, p. 313.

⁴A little after 3 o'clock the French ships wore and sailed out to sea heading south-east. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁵The Robust lost 15 killed and 21 wounded. Ibid., p. 314.

⁶The *Europe* lost 8 killed and 19 wounded; the *Prudent*, 7 killed and 24 wounded. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

⁷There were no men killed on any British ship except the three leading vessels. There were, however, three men wounded on each of the three ships, Royal Oak, London, and America. Ibid., p. 314.

¹Three French and five English ships were copper bottomed. Of the French, the Neptune, Duc de Bourgogne, and Éveillé were so sheathed; of the English, the America, Bedford, London; Royal Oak, and Prudent were coppered. Clowes, III, 492. The Political Magazine and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal, August, 1780, pp. 519, 521.

About 2 P. M.¹ the firing ceased on our part, the enemy being out of gunshot, and we brought to to repair. Those who may be au fait in naval tactics may judge correctly as to our present situation and duties, and the propriety or practicability of any efficient pursuit where the enemy possessed the gift of heels to run away. Such of our ships as were coppered might have overhauled them, but in that case the disparity of 3 to 8 was too great to risk, for they could have derived no timely aid from our wooden bottomed ships, of which indeed in a lengthened chase they must have soon lost sight. Besides, the enemy, after a continuance of their course to the north for some hours, might have changed their course to the southward of Hatteras and then pushed on to the northward and have attained their object as to General Arnold and the force with him at Portsmouth, which it was our duty and intention to preserve and protect. The Admirals and the squadron, therefore, steered the next morning for the capes and soon after anchored in Lynnhaven Bay,² and ready for a more serious $t\hat{e}te$ à $t\hat{e}te$ should our enemy be so disposed. However, they seemed to adopt the more prudent opinion of Hudibras³ that

> He who fights, and runs away, May live to fight another day.

And so they resolved to get along back to their old snug harbor as fast as they could without deviating to the right or the left, where we afterwards learned they arrived after a short passage.⁴ By this operation we quieted the very serious alarms

¹³ P. M. would be more nearly correct. Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1781, Pt. I, p. 313.

²Lynnhaven Bay is just west of Cape Henry at the southern entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Arbuthnot anchored here on the evening of March 18, 1781. He sailed from there April 3, and arrived at Sandy Hook, April 10. Arbuthnot to Stephens, March 20, 1781. *Ibid.*, p. 313. See also the same to the same, April 14, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

³Although Butler in his *Hudibras* (Part III, Canto III, *ll.* 243-244) has a couplet similar to the one given here, the latter is taken from a work attributed to Oliver Goldsmith, *The Art of Poetry on a New Plan*, II, 147. London, 1762.

⁴Destouches arrived at Newport, March 26. Rochambeau to Montbarey, March 27, 1781. Doniol, V, 435.

which had begun to be felt by our force in James River and its environs at the considerable collection of a large force which they had intelligence was drawing together around them, but which dispersed or melted away soon after our arrival there.

If I have dwelt so much on the subject of the war and written so little individually as to myself, it must be recollected as my excuse that I was in fact identified with my chief, and that his proceedings in many cases of minor importance, and in some of a more serious character, originated with me, and were by me to be defended, supported, explained, and illustrated, and therefore to a certain extent in narrating his acts I give my own.¹ But I have ever regarded his omitting to attack the French in the harbor of Newport as extremely indefensible and a serious neglect of duty, and I shall so continue to think whilst I have life and a rational understanding.

My station during the rencounter was on the quarter-deck of the Royal Oak near the Admiral, and the shot were flying around us for about an hour, but principally aimed aloft. Captain Balfour, late of the Culloden, having lost his ship, had volunteered his services with us on this cruize, and he and I were in conversation when he received a severe contusion on the head by the fall of the heel of the maintopmast which was shot away. When he felt the blow and the blood streaming down, he exclaimed, "I wonder what the devil brought me here !" Twentytwo years before, being then a young lieutenant, he had the command of a division of the boats detached from his fleet by Admiral Boscawen to bring out or destroy a French squadron of some line of battle ships in the harbor of Louisburg in the Island of Cape Breton. Having effected his purpose with others, he towed out one (the Bienfaisant) from under a heavy fire of the French batteries on shore, for which he was immediately promoted,² but he was then without any one to care for, but now, poor fellow, he had a mistress and ten natural children to provide for, all of whom, if he had fallen, would have been left in

¹This statement is rather interesting in the light of what Green says on pp. 63-64.

²For further details of this episode, see Schomberg, I, 314.

a state of great poverty; hence may be clearly accounted for the exclamation of "I wonder what the devil brought me here."

But if Admiral Arbuthnot is liable to censure for not attacking and capturing or destroying the French fleet off Newport, what excuse, apology, or defense can be made on the same ground for Sir George Rodney, who remained idle at New York having more than twenty' sail of the line at his immediate disposal for near three months, without ever looking at them, detaching them to cruize only against defenseless trading vessels. that he might enrich himself with his proportion of the prize money as commander in chief both in North America and the West Indies, whilst he had so noble an object for the triumph of his arms as the enemy's squadron at Rhode Island?² The answer is a prompt and ready one. Nothing saved him from condign punishment for this and his atrocious conduct in St. Eustatius and elsewhere but his subsequent victory over and his capture of de Grasse, which in reality was achieved without any merit or even interference on his part and was solely due to his flag captain, Sir Charles Douglas, Bart.

A feeling of disgust at the indecisive and lackadaisical character of Sir Henry Clinton,³ and a sensible disgust of his own incompetency for the station he filled as to any national object, had induced the Admiral in a despatch to the Admiralty to intimate a wish to resign his appointment in the winter of 1780.⁴ Some months after, in the following June, a permission

¹Vide supra, p. 98, note 2.

²A. T. Mahan has made this same observation. See his chapter in Clowes, III, 353-564; in particular, see pp. 470-471.

³The dislike of Arbuthnot for Clinton was heartily reciprocated by the General, and their enmity was notorious on both sides of the ocean.

⁴On December 19, 1780, Arbuthnot wrote to Germain: "It is with the deepest concern, after having so freely given all my sentiments to your Lordship, that I am under the necessity of saying the complicated labour of this command is too much for me at my advanced age, 68, near 55 years in actual service; which I have been in the hope might have ended in being instrumental to the bringing about a reconciliation. I feel I can be no longer useful to this desirable end, I pray your Lordship will not impute my request of being recalled to chagrin, for I have none." *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stopford-Sackville MSS., II, 190-191. See also Arbuthnot to Stephens, Dec. 18, 1780. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

arrived to that effect, in which case he was to deliver up his charge to Rear-Admiral Graves as his successor, which he did in the beginning of July. Hoisting his flag on board the *Roebuck* of 40 guns,¹ he returned home.²

The history of his services may be related in few words': the autumn of 1779, after his arrival at New York,3 detaching and arranging his cruizers along the coast; the evacuation of Rhode Island; a preparation for the naval service to the southward in Carolina and Georgia in the spring of 1780, and the voyage thither in the expedition of that year; the summer blockade of the French in that harbor* till the arrival of Rodney, who superseded him in the chief command for some months; the continuance of that blockade in 1781, with the pursuit of the French fleet, and the partial action off the capes of Virginia, and the resumption of it after their escape from us and return thither, until we quitted North America. This is, to be sure, a meagre detail but a pretty correct one. As to the army, composed heterogeneously of various tribes of Hessians, Waldeckers, etc., etc., and British, little could be expected to be done by it after the coming in of the French corps of five thousand men, the élite of their army, commanded by the élite of the French noblesse, in aid of the numerical power and force of the Revolutionists in the Colonies.

Whatever might have been the opinions or feelings of the Admiral at this time, I am persuaded he ought in truth to have rejoiced, for his recall relieved him from a burthen which he was unable to bear, and from the discharge of duties to which by age

⁴Newport.

¹The Roebuck carried 44 guns. Beatson, VI, 205.

²Arbuthnot resigned his command to Graves, July 4, 1781, and struck his flag on board the *Roebuck* at Spithead, Aug. 3, 1781. Arbuthnot to Graves, July 4, 1781; Arbuthnot to Stephens, Aug. 22, 1781. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcripts.

³Arbuthnot arrived at New York, Aug. 25, 1779. Arbuthnot to Germain, Aug. 25, 1779. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stopford-Sackville MSS., II, 136.

and original incompetency he was utterly inadequate.¹ He was now in his 76th year.² To me it was a measure affording the highest satisfaction, for I had become well and powerfully convinced that in case of any failure of compliance on his part with solicitations and requests from the army, or its chief, or of any miscarriage or misfortune attending its attempts or operations as connected with the naval service, it might have been charged, and so probably it would have been, to the overpowering influence which I was supposed to exercise over him, although such a supposition was altogether groundless. A conviction of this was forcibly impressed upon my mind, and I rejoiced with the greatest sincerity and pleasure at the prospect of my release from so heavy and severe a responsibility, from which I could derive no real relief by the lucrative profits and advantages which were believed to be its assured appendage.

These considerations had induced me a year before to resign my appointments as agent victualler to the fleet³ and purveyor to the naval hospital at Brooklyn, and to retain only my prize agencies as beforementioned and the pursery of the *Royal Oak*,⁴ which I was allowed to hold by deputy when I attended the Admiral by his command to England on his return home.⁵

²Arbuthnot was born about 1710. This would make him about 71 years of age when he was recalled. He was later promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the Red, Sept. 24, 1787; and Admiral of the Blue, Feb. 1, 1793. He died Jan. 31, 1794. Clowes, III, 566; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1794, Pt. I, p. 184.

³Henry Davis succeeded to Green's office June 13, 1780. The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, Feb. 12, 1781. Cf. letter of Arbuthnot to Stephens, July 3, 1780. P. R. O., Admiralty 1, Vol. 486. L. C. Transcript.

⁴Green had done duty as purser of the *Royal Oak*, the flagship, since Aug. 29, 1780. See list of promotions under Arbuthnot, Dec. 16, 1780. *Ibid.*

⁵See Introduction, p. 55.

¹Robert Biddulph (see above, p. 57, n. 1) had the following to say of Arbuthnot when the Admiral sailed home : "I fear he is more unpopular than he deserves to be, which to you will be no Matter of Admiration who know how easily the Multitude is misled. He may have some faults in his Disputes with the G....l, [Sir Henry Clinton] and those are on both Sides. I believe they did not begin with him. He is very old and somewhat Prejudiced, certainly unfit for a Command which requires so much Activity, [and] Clearness of Enterprize." Letter dated July 2, 1781. *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1923, XXIX, 101-102.

Conscious of being regarded as a new man, and as having incurred a sufficient quantum of the odium usually attached to such characters, I had become excessively desirous to prove to the world that as to me it was unjust and inapplicable, for I know that I could then, and can now, most safely assert that less money was drawn from the public purse to defray the contingent expenses for the victualling and hospital department of the navy during my administration of the funds of those departments than during any other period of the war, in proportion and respect to the numbers of men within the range of those departments.

I could only accomplish this by returning to England as soon as possible, and by regularly passing my accounts at the proper boards or tribunals appointed to examine and investigate them. This I set about very seriously, and con amore, immediately after my arrival in London. I had sent home my accounts and vouchers some months before to my agent there, who had lodged them at the proper offices. I therefore made instant application to have them taken in hand. As a preliminary step I was directed to pay over to the Treasurer of the Navy¹ such balances as were admitted by me to be correctly due to Government, after having made the disbursements in question; which I accordingly did, and in less than six weeks after my return, all my transactions had passed through fiery ordeal, which some malignant and worthless characters had asserted I should never dare to face, and I was reputably cleared from all charge upon the subject and from all corresponding anxiety and uneasiness.

These settlements were finally adjusted in October, 1781, about two months after my return. In that same month I became the happy husband of my beloved Temperance Heatly,²

¹Welbore Ellis.

²They were married in London, Oct. 11, 1781. Temperance Heatly was the daughter of Andrew Heatly of Newport, R. I., and Mary Grant, daughter of Suetonius Grant of Newport. After her father's death she was taken to England whither her mother went as the wife of John Bell. --From family papers in possession of Mr. Thomas MacGowan of Syracuse, N. Y.

which might not have happened quite so soon but for the unfortunate death of her mother of the smallpox about a month before, which having left a family of young women without any natural guardian in a strange country reasonably accelerated a union which had been predetermined two years before.

I ought not to dismiss the subject of my service with Admiral Arbuthnot without adverting to some matters which have led to much violent declamation among the demagogues in the Colonies during the war and since its termination. There always was previous to the commencement of hostilities a very violent political party led by furious partizans who found it their interest to keep the people sufficiently ignorant and extremely enthusiastic, and in a state of ferment and commotion. Few more suitable pretexts for this could be laid hold of than the treatment of American naval prisoners.

When I arrived at New York, I found the Jersey, an old sixtyfour¹ armed *en flûte*, that is, with her lower deck guns out and having a clear space of about 150 feet by 40 and a clear hold, or Orlop deck, still more roomy, appropriated to their use and accommodation. A certain number of them was permitted in rotation to be upon deck for the further purpose of air and exercise.² The Jersey was upon the establishment of a sloop of war under a master and commander with about eighty hands chiefly employed as conservators of order and peace.³ The

¹The Jersey formerly carried only 60 guns. It was built in 1736. A history of this ship is given by C. I. Bushnell, A Memoir of Eli Bickford, a Patriot of the Revolution, pp. 13-15; also by H. B. Dawson, ed., Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship: from the Original Manuscripts of Captain Thomas Dring, One of the Prisoners, App. X, pp. 196-198.

²After sundown, however, all prisoners had to go below deck, while only one at a time was permitted to come up on the main deck. E. L. Armbruster, *The Wallabout Prison Ships*, 1776-1783, p. 19.

³According to Captain Thomas Dring, who was one of the prisoners confined on the *Jersey*, the regular crew consisted of a captain, two mates, a steward, a cook, and about twelve sailors. In addition there were stationed on board about a dozen invalid marines. The guard numbered about thirty and was changed weekly. H. B. Dawson, *ed.*, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 47, 69.

provisions were in charge of a purser, Mr. Henry Davis,¹ who after the peace removed to New York with his family, who are still residing there, and who could, had he not been afraid of being mobbed, have silenced all clamor by an attestation to the real truth of the case at any time.

I must here record the facts. All the biscuit, flour, oatmeal, butter, cheese, beef, and pork for the use and victualling of the navy was supplied by contract from England and Ireland and duly inspected prior to delivery; it was transported across the Atlantic to certain ports most convenient for its distribution in victualling ships of from 2, 3 or 400 tons burthen, consigned to the agent victualler for the time being, and when any ship of war required a supply, on a formal application to him an order was given to the commander of any of the victualling ships having the required articles of provisions on hand to make a due delivery, and take the purser's receipt as his voucher to the agent. In this manner, and without any preference or favor whatever, were all the provisions issued for the public service, the Admiral faring the same as the common sailor.

A regulation as to the rate of issue may be deemed rather extraordinary, which is that the King's troops in His own ships in a passage by sea on the public service of the nation and during a national [war] were not entitled to claim or to receive for their sustenance more than two-thirds of every species of provision in the daily ration of the sailor. Probably this arrangement was made under the impression that soldiers having no specific duty to perform at sea did not require an equal quantum of food with him who was employed day and night in working, navigating, and fighting the ship; perhaps also with an economical view. However this might be, so it was, and prisoners of war of every nation received allowance with the King's troops whilst on board a ship. The prisoners at war on board the *Jersey* were victualled in this manner by her purser, who was, as he is in all cases, the mere distributor of the articles, for which he received

¹Peter Robertson, and not Henry Davis, was the purser of the Jersey. Henry Davis at this time held Green's old position as agent for victualling the British fleet in North America. The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, Feb. 12, 1781.

wages and a compensation for loss and waste from the office where he passed his accounts.¹

The Revolutionary prisoners were chiefly composed of privateersmen captured in depredating on the commerce of the mother country, and certainly not entitled to any preference on that account, but they, or many of them, conceitedly affected to regard themselves as the apostles or martyrs of liberty, whilst by many they were seen only as rebels to the public authority of the empire. They considered the distinction between the crew of the *Jersey* and themselves as unjust and invidious, and murmured and grumbled at it very much, but very unjustly, for the Admiral himself had no power to alter it even in favor of the King's troops; much less could he do it in behalf of such prisoners.

When the *Jersey* was too full,² the surplus was placed on board large transport ships³ in the harbor under a guard, and borne for victualling as supernumeraries on board the flagship, and I do now make this my most solemn declaration as a dying man that no distinction was ever made during the command of Admiral Arbuthnot in America between the seamen of the King's fleet and the prisoners at war in the *Jersey* or the said transport prison ships in relation to the quality of the provisions issued to them or to the quantity, except as before stated. Neither do I believe that any such distinction was ever made at any period from the commencement to the termination of these civil dissensions and the consequent hostilities.

(To be continued)

²One of the most persistent complaints by the Americans was that the prison ships were too crowded. Recent research appears to have demonstrated that such complaints were not well-founded. J. L. Banks, *David Sproat and Naval Prisoners in the War of the Revolution*, pp. 16-22. Cf. E. L. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-28.

³The names of all the prison ships in the Wallabout, together with estimates of the numbers of prisoners on each in various years, are given by Armbruster, pp. 26-27.

¹Captain Dring also stated that each prisoner was furnished with twothirds of the allowance of a seaman in the British navy. Dawson, p. 39. The fact is further vouched for in the report of the investigation in February, 1781 (see below), in which report there appears an enumerated list of the weekly allowance of provisions granted the captives. This allowance was approximately two-thirds of that given to the sailors, as is evident on computation. For a description of the rations of the British seaman at this period, see Danske Dandridge, *American Prisoners of the Revolution*, pp. 339-340.

FORM OF LEGACY

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